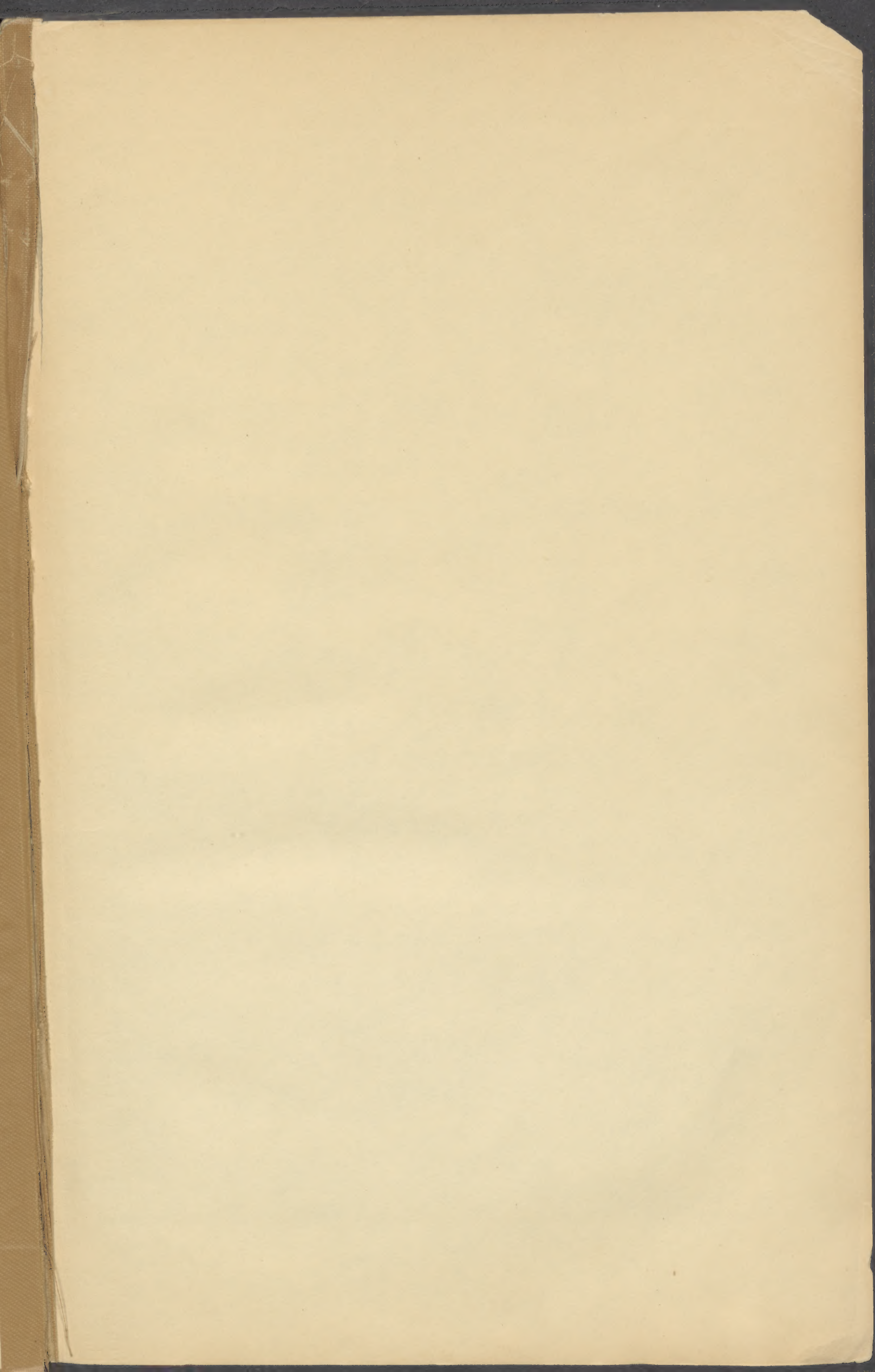


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December, 1937



DASTUR BAHMAN KAIKOBAD

AND

THE KISSEH-I-SANJAN.

A REPLY

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D.

Honorary Secretary, The Sanjan Memorial Column Fund

“HAMÊ HINDUSTÂN RÂ YÂR BÂSHÎM”

“WE SHALL BE THE FRIENDS OF THE WHOLE OF INDIA”

(The Words of the Dastur to Jâdi-Rânâ on landing at Sanjân.)

BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MAZGAON, BOMBAY.

1917.

To Prof. and Mrs. Jackson

With the compliments of the Author

209 Howby Rd. Bombay

28th Aug. 1918

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FROM

SHAMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
HON. SECRETARY, THE SANJAN MEMORIAL COLUMN COMMITTEE.

TO

H. J. BHABHA, Esq., M.A., PRESIDENT.

P. A. WADIA, Esq., M.A.

BYRAMJI HORMUSJI, Esq.

} JOINT HON. SECRETARIES,
IRANIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

I

I have already acknowledged on 30th November 1916, the receipt of your letter without date of November 1916 (received on 30th November), on the subject of the Sanjan Memorial Column. I now beg to reply to it.

As matters stand, I have to reply, not only to you, but to others whom you have followed. You have taken as your authority, Mr. Jamshedji Dadabhoy Nadirsha. Mr. Nadirsha has taken for his authority, in two points, Mr. Pallonji Burjorji Desai. Mr. Desai, who though he has accepted as truthful the Kisseh-i Sanjan and has supported the Column movement, differs from others in the identification of two persons, in which identification, he has, in his turn, taken for his authority Sir James Campbell, the Editor of the Bombay Gazetteer. Sir J. Campbell who has always accepted the history of the Kisseh-i Sanjan and has said, that Sanjan was the first place in India where the Parsees settled after the Arab conquest, has, in his turn, in the matter of the identification, rested on, and was misled by, a faulty translation of the Persian Kisseh-i Sanjan by Lieut. E.B. Eastwick. Lieut. Eastwick, being a foreigner, through no fault of his own, misunderstood a proper noun for a common noun, and so made a mistake in his translation. Thus, here is a case of one mistaken writer misleading another by his mistake, and the latter misleading another, and so on. Such being the case, I shall have to reply indirectly to all these gentlemen. Your letter, in fact, is an abridged second edition of Mr. Nadirsha's paper. I had not chosen to reply to that gentleman, who, I find, is one of those scholars, with whom, at times, "the reversal of popular verdicts," has a strange fascination, and who forgetting, that to destroy is a child's play but to construct is a man's work, take more pleasure in some destructive criticism than in constructive work. Again, there is little in his criticism and statements, most of which are vague, and some, self-contradictory. However, now, that you gentlemen have chosen to adopt that paper as your own and to publish, as it were, an abridged second edition of it, I propose taking, in the course of this reply, a short notice of that gentleman's paper also, especially because you have said, that you are "indebted" to it for your letter. On one hand, I am sorry, that you gentlemen, especially you Mr. President and you Mr. Wadia, whose learning in your respective lines of study I respect, should have chosen to give the support of your names to this kind of second hand criticism on a subject, which is foreign to your lines of special study, and to which, I think, you have not paid the serious attention of a few days' or a few hours' original study. On the other hand, I am glad to seize this opportunity of reply. Let me assure you that since you have chosen to write to me, I have devoted my scanty leisure hours for a number of months to a serious study of the whole question again. Hence this delay to reply to your letter. I owe it to the learned French lady, whose suggestion I took up, I owe it to myself as the prime mover of the Column movement, I owe it to the distinguished members of my Committee who, at my desire, kindly joined the movement and helped me with their sympathy, co-operation and advice, I owe it to the large number of subscribers who kindly responded to my appeal and helped my movement with their money, and last, though not least, I owe it to my Community whose pride in the glorious past of some of its ancestors, seems, though unconsciously, to be assailed, that I should reply to your letter fully and

place before the public all the facts specially relating to the movement and all the facts generally relating to the Kisseh-i Sanjan as studied by me before, and studied by me, *de novo*, now. I crave my readers' indulgence for being long in my reply and request a kind and patient consideration of the whole question. A single argument, here and there, may be found weak in itself, when taken alone. So, I request a patient perusal and consideration of the reply as a whole.

In the first place, I beg to give a short history of the Sanjan Memorial Column movement. This history will, I hope, show you, that the destructive criticism in which you now indulge, and that, at the very twelfth hour, and that again, on a subject very carefully looked into by my Committee with the help of a sub-committee of experts, is, to say the least, un-Iranian in its spirit.

II

HISTORY OF THE COLUMN MOVEMENT.

(a) The suggestion of such a column was first made in 1909, in the "Revue du Monde Musulman," in an article, entitled "La prise de Sanjan par les Musulmans," by Mademoiselle Menant, the authoress of "Les Parsis." I took up the suggestion and placed it before some leading members of the Community. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy wrote to me: "I entirely agree with your opinion therein expressed in regard to the commemoration of the landing of Parsis at Sanjan. This proposal should have commended itself to our community long ago. But it is better to be late than never. I am glad that you intend taking it in hand." Sir Cowasji Jehangir wrote: "I think this matter ought to be taken up by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet, who should be asked to take the initiative in the matter." The late Sir Pherozechah M. Mehta said: "I shall be very glad to join the Committee which you propose to form." The late Mr. Bomanji Dinshaw Petit wrote: "The idea of a monument at Sanjan. . . . appeals to me and I am sure it will commend itself to many Zoroastrians. The monument is sure to stir up memories of a memorable past." Mr. Hormusjee A. Wadya wrote: "It is certainly a neglect that ought to be repaired. I wish such a proposal could come before your Conference." Khan Bahadur Muncherjee C. Murzban wrote: "The suggestion is an excellent one and should be carried out. . . . The cost might vary from Rs. 2,000 to 10,000. Such a work should be entrusted to the Superintendent of Sir J. J. School of Art." Sir Ratan Tata wrote: "I shall be glad to join and subscribe my share towards the construction of the monument".

(b) All the twenty-one gentlemen whom I addressed, approved of the movement. Twenty out of these, agreed to form themselves into a Committee. The late Mr. B. M. Malabari sympathised with the movement but did not join the Committee, which consisted of the following gentlemen :—

Sir JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY, Bart.
 Sir DINSHAW MANOCKJI PETIT, Bart.
 Sir COWASJI JEHANGIR, Bart.
 SHAMS-UL-ULMA DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B. A.
 DASTUR KAIKHOUSHRO JAMASPJI.
 Sir PHEROZESHAW MERWANJI MEHTA, M. A., C. I. E.
 Sir DORAB JAMSHEDJI TATA, B. A.
 Mr. JAMSETJEE CURSETJEE JAMSETJEE.
 Mr. BOMANJI DINSHAW PETIT.
 KHAN BAHADUR MUNCHERJI COWASJI MURZBAN, C. I. E.
 Sir (then Mr.) DINSHAW DHANJIBHOY DAVAR.
 Mr. NOWROJI JEHANGIR GAMUDIA.
 Sir (then Mr.) RATAN JAMSHEDJI TATA.
 Mr. MERWANJI MUNCHERJI CAMA, B. A.
 Mr. HORMUSJI MUNCHERJI CAMA.

Mr. RUSTOMJI BYRAMJI JEJEEBHOY.

KHAN BAHADUR KERSHASPJI RUSTOMJI DADACHANJI, M. A., L. L. B.

Mr. JEHANGIR BYRAMJI MURZBAN.

Mr. JEHANGIR BOMANJI PETIT.

Mr. HORMUSJI ARDESHIR WADYA.

Mr. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

(c) I placed the movement before the Parsee public on 19th April, 1910.

(d) Some doubts having been then expressed in a Parsee Paper, probably from the same quarter as that which has originated the present opposition, about the place of the first arrival of the Parsees, my Committee, at its very second sitting on 9th November, 1910, appointed, on the motion of Sir Dorab J. Tata, a sub-Committee of expert students of history to look into the whole question. The Sub-Committee was asked to report upon the following points:—

(1) "To give a general report giving an account of the first movement of the ancestors of the modern Parsees who came to India after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire."

(2) "To refer the following, para (from the Paper entitled "La prise de Sanjan par les Musulmans" in "Le Revue du Monde Musulman," 38 Anne Juin No. 6) of Miss Menant to them and request them to point out a place where the Column for the first settlement of the Parsees in India may be erected."

The Sub-Committee of experts had four sittings and it submitted an unanimous report on 16th March, 1911, signed by Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Mr. Rustomji Pestonji Karkaria, B.A., Mr. Rustom Burjorji Paymaster, B.A., L.L.B., Dr. Manockji Bomanji Davar, B.A., Ph. D.; Mr. Pallonji Burjorji Desai, Ervad Edulj Kershaspji Antia, and Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

The report gave a short history of the first movements of the ancestors of the modern Parsees, who came to India after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. It began with the defeat of the ancient Persians at the hands of the Arabs, at Nehavand, in 641, and ended with the event of the final removal of the Sacred Fire "Irân Shah" to Udware (about 1742 A. D.). The Sub-Committee then expressed an *unanimous* opinion that "if there be any place where a Column may be erected it was Sanjan." The Sub-Committee resolved to visit Sanjan and select a site for the erection of the Column. Four of its members visited Sanjan, and, after a boat-voyage on the Sanjan creek up to the sea, recommended, that a site within about half-a-mile from the Railway station may be selected for the Column. These *unanimous* reports of the Sub-Committee of experts and of the members who visited Sanjan, were submitted to the General Committee. They were *unanimously* adopted at the sitting of 22nd March, 1911.

(e) It was after all this procedure, that the Committee got proper designs prepared. They, with the help of the late Mr. Nowroji J. Gamudia and Sir Dorab J. Tata, consulted the Hon. Sir. F. L. Sprott and Mr. Messent, the Chairman and the Engineer of the Port Trust, and Mr. Wittet, the architect of the Government of Bombay. The Column which is now being erected is the result of all the above inquiries, advice, consultation and co-operation.

(f) As to the Funds, as it was at first thought, that a small simple column, costing, at the most, about Rs. 10,000, may be put up, an appeal was made to the community, mostly for a Rupee subscription. It was responded to by almost all the towns, numbering about 46, which contain Parsee population. Subscriptions came in even from some places beyond India, such as Hongkong, Canton, Colombo and Aden. Latterly, as it was suggested, that a larger and a little more ornamental column, worthy of the importance of the event sought to be commemorated and worthy of the name of the community, may be built, an appeal for larger subscriptions was made. The Fund, subscribed upto now, has amounted to Rs. 22,135. It has been subscribed by about 2860 subscribers, among whom I find the names of many members of your Association.

As to the Inscription, I may say, that, with the help of the experts' committee named above, I took all possible care to admit no controversial point about which there existed any difference of opinion. For example, as there is some difference of opinion about the exact date of the landing at Sanjan, we have given no date. It was after all the necessary consultation and care that the Inscription was finally sent to the Architect on 15th September, 1916.

What I have said above will show you, that the propriety of erecting a column at Sanjan was, at the instance of my committee, examined by an expert committee, and that it was after that examination, that the movement was continued and further helped. All these facts have been placed by me from time to time before the Parsee Public through the Parsee papers, and so, I am grieved and, I think, many like myself must have been grieved, to find that you should, notwithstanding all these facts, indulge in destructive criticism, at the twelfth hour, on a movement so carefully managed, and that you should do so mainly on the authority of one individual writer. I think, that no other movement in the community was ever started with as much unanimity and co-operation and after as much inquiry as that for this Column. So, I am greatly surprised at the representation, which you now make on the very eve of the erection of the column, cold-heartedly proposing, that the sum collected may be diverted to some inquiries which, as said above, have been already made.

In my first letter, I requested you to favour me with a copy of the proceedings of your Committee meetings which resolved to ask you to send the representation, in order to enable me to measure the true importance of your representation. But you have not condescended to give me the required information or even to reply to that letter. However, if I learn, that your views are shared by many members of your Association, who at first sympathised with the column movement, I shall be greatly surprised. Such an occurrence may lead one to say, that it is not always the illiterate many that are fickle, but that at times, even those without the circle of those known as the illiterate, are, in spite of their education and position, fickle, and are in a frame of mind which does not think for itself but allows others to think for it, and that they rather place themselves in a position to be led by a few persons than to lead intelligently.

At one time, at the very commencement of our movement, which happened to commence in the same year, when the movement of the Zoroastrian Conference, to which you refer, was launched, I was asked by the very founder of the Conference and by several others, who liked the movement, to let it be placed on its platform and have a resolution of co-operation and sympathy. I did not see the necessity of it, as the movement was already taken up and helped by leading men on its own merits. I little expected at the time, that the question would be afterwards looked at from a party point of view. I am sorry to find from a conversation with the founder, that unfortunately, this movement is now looked at by some from that point of view. I am surprised to find that the very Conference, which, at one time, wanted to have it on its platform, has allowed that platform to be the place of some animadversions against it. Unfortunately, of late, there has been a good deal of "party spirit" in our community. I have tried to keep myself and my movement free from that party spirit. Since nearly a year or two, a certain section of one party, whom, as announced in your journal, it is your avowed object to oppose, has begun manifesting their liking and regard for the old associations connected with the foundation of the Parsee colony at Sanjan. They have even given a concrete form to their feelings by the celebration of a Jashan. It seems, that this action has been looked at with disfavour by the other party. The Jashan movement and the Column movement seem to have been mixed up in the thoughts of the latter party; and I am afraid, this confusion of thought, combined with party spirit, has made the Sanjan column movement—a non-party movement in itself,—the innocent victim of adverse criticism like yours. I was afraid that such a thing might happen, and so, had requested the other party to postpone their Jashan movement, at least, for a year, by which time the column would be finished. But my request was not complied with, and I am sorry to find, that my fears have turned out to be true.

III.

Having given a short history of the movement for the Sanjan Memorial Column, I will now come to the subject proper of your letter under reply. I do not clearly see what exact position you wish to take up and what particular objections I have to meet. (a) In one place, you seem to doubt the main fact of the exodus—a position which your authority, Mr. Nadirsha, once took up, but from which he now seems to withdraw. In another place, you seem to admit it by admitting the main fact “of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia, coming to India” (b) Again, in one place, you seem to object to the sea-route, but in another place, you admit it, saying that “it is not impossible of course that some emigrants from Persia might have come to India by the sea route.” (c) Again, notwithstanding these two admissions, you object to the wording of the inscription, which you say “takes it for granted that *all* the Iranian ancestors of the Parsees of India left Persia after the downfall of the empire of their last monarch and after suffering innumerable hardships at length landed at the port of Sanjan.” I have italicised your word *all*. We have not at all used the word *all* in our inscription. We have taken nothing of the kind for granted. Nor has the Kisseh-i-Sanajin said so. All students of Parsee history know, that some hundreds of thousands of Zoroastrians continued to live in Persia in the face of difficulties; but it was a band of some Zoroastrians, who, after a pretty long stay in the mountainous tracts of that country, finding that their stay was made unbearably hot, emigrated to India via the sea-port town of Hormuz in Persia. We all know the result, that from the descendants of those hundreds of thousands, nay millions, who remained in Persia, there are only about 10,000 Parsees there at present, and that from the few thousands who came to the hospitable shores of India, we have, according to the last census of 1911, a flourishing population of about a hundred thousand in various parts of this country. One is grieved to observe, that it is the commemoration of such a memorable event in the history of the community, that is objected to by a few gentlemen led by one or two mistaken writers.

However, bearing in mind the vagueness of your assertions, and looking to the importance of the question, I propose to handle the whole subject of the truthfulness of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, and to give facts and evidence which go to support the Kisseh-i-Sanjan in general and its various statements in particular.

You hesitate to accept as true, or as the whole truth, the story of the immigration of our Iranian ancestors into Sanjan as given in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. For the facts and inferences which lead you to hesitate, you say that “you are indebted to a Paper read before the third Zoroastrian Conference by Mr. Jamshedji Dadabhoy Nadirsha, L. C. E., a distinguished Avesta Scholar, and traveller in Persia.” On looking into the list of the members of the Managing Committee of your Association, at whose direction, you wrote the letter under reply, I find, that most of the gentlemen, though learned in their own lines, are not in a position to speak authoritatively on the subject of the Persian Kisseh-i-Sanjan. This fact, and your above admission, that Mr. Nadirsha is your authority, show, that you speak at second hand. I am surprised, that you gentlemen should have thought it advisable to make your Association a medium for the expression of the views of only one gentleman, while my Committee has proceeded in the matter on the advice of a committee of experts, one of whom is a member of your own Committee. But, I think, that those who will look at this question with a dispassionate mind, free from any preconceived or borrowed opinions, will find, from what I say in this letter, that in Mr. Nadirsha, whom you have taken for your authority, you have not found a safe guide. He read his Paper before the Conference in 1912. In that paper, he spoke of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as “altogether imaginary” (તદ્દેવ કલ્પિત). Report of the Conference 1913, p. 381). Now I find that, just a few days after you wrote your letter under reply, in the last December issue of the Journal of your Association, that learned gentleman has published the same paper again. But instead of the words “altogether imaginary” (તદ્દેવ કલ્પિત), he has now used the words “largely imaginary” (મેટા ભાગે કલ્પિત; p. 365 of the issue of December, 1916). Now

this change of one word is very significant. With that change of a word he seems to have, as it were, thrown you overboard. It shows, that though he uses the same arguments verbatim, he is now toned down in his conclusion. All honour to him for this change of position, and I hope, that after a calm and dispassionate consideration, of the contents of this letter, he will find sufficient grounds to be toned down still further, and to say, that, in its main features and the statement of principal events, the Kisseh is historically correct.

IV.

EVIDENCE FOR THE TRUTHFULNESS OF THE KISSEH-I-SANJAN.

There are a number of facts which go to show that the Kisseh-i-Sanja is based on older materials of historical importance. Evidence can be produced from the Kisseh itself and from other books and facts.

I will examine the subject under the following heads.

- i. The Inner evidence, as supplied by the Kisseh itself.
- ii. Evidence on the subject of the main or the general question of the Exodus.
- iii. Evidence on the statements of the Kisseh about the various events connected with the Exodus.

I—THE INNER EVIDENCE FROM THE KISSEH ITSELF.

Firstly, the author of it, a learned priest, Bahman Kaikobad Hamajiâr Sanjana of Naosari, distinctly says, that he wrote his historical narrative from what he saw in older writings (L. 431, *Vide* Mr. R. B. Paymaster's edition, p. 16).

^{a)} Authenticity of its Materials.

من این قصه بگفتم آنچه دیدم

In another place, he says, that a Dastur had shown him a copy of the narrative (Ibid l. 412.)

مرا این قصه بنمودست دستور

He gives the name of the Dastur as Hoshang (Ms. of Anquetil Du Perron in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Zend Avesta, Tome II. p. XXXV. It is the Ms. referred to by M. Blochet in his catalogue, p. 106.)

زهی دستور بودش نام هوشنگ

This line is not found in some Mss, but it does occur in several old Mss. Prof. Hodivala (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIII. p. 365) has "found it in at least three old and good manuscripts and it was not absent from Anquetil's copy (Le Zend Avesta Tome II Pte. II. XXXIV)." I find it in a very old copy in the possession of Ervad M. R. Unwala, which, I think, is in the hand of Bahman Kaikobad himself. It seems to be his rough copy in which he has made corrections here and there and marked or directed a change in the consecutive order of couplets. This Ms. has in all 65 folios, the first ten of which contain Bahman's rough copy of the Kisseh. The rest contain his verses on various subjects. The Colophon at the very end gives the date as *roz* Khorshed (the reading is a little doubtful, the paper being torn off) *mah* Avardâd, *sâl* nine hundred and eighty-nine. The writer speaks of himself as Herbad-Zâdah Herbad Bahman bin Kaikobad bin Hormazyâr, surnamed (lakab) Sanjana. Auquetil Du Perron's copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris also has the name (*vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees p. 4, n. 1).

Again, it is not only on the authority of the materials supplied to him by the Dastur, that he wrote his narrative, but he verified it from what he heard from other elders (Mr. Paymaster's ed l. 431.)

ز گفتار بزرگان خود شنیدم

He further assures his readers, saying, "I have related this story, as I saw it, according to the way of truthful persons." (Ibid l. 434.)

بگفتم خود چو من این داستان را . . . نگه کردم طریق راستان را

Then, after completing his work, he showed it to his learned preceptor who duly corrected it (l. 432).

ولی استاد من کرده درمستش

Again, the author of the poem himself was a learned priest and belonged to a learned family. His brother Ekji was a known personage and was mentioned in (b) The Author, a Member of a learned family, His Genealogy. Bahman Aspandiyar's Revayat of 1626 and in two letters of 1627 from Persia (Parsee Prakash I pp. 11, 12 and 13). His other brother Kamdin also was known as a leader and mentioned in the above Revayat of 1626 (Ibid p. 11). He was related to Darab Hormazyar and Barjo Kamdin, the learned compilers of the two great collections of the Revayats, known under their respective names. Darab Hormazyâr was his great grand nephew. Burzo Kamdin, the great uncle of Darab Hormuzyar (Dr. West. Asha Vol. I No. 4. p. 144), was his nephew. A complete copy of Darab Hormuzyar's Revayat at Bulsar is dated 1685. Burzo Kamdin lived in the first half of the 17th century. His Revayat is dated 1630 A. D. He is named in the Revayat of 1626, in the above two letters of 1627 and in a letter of 1649 (Ibid pp. 11, 12, 13, 14). According to Prof. Hodivala, he was even known to the author of the Dabistân, the Mobad "Tarrau of Bûsawari in Gujarat" of which (Calcutta Text p. 123, Shea and Troyer I pp. 263-4) is the same as "Barjo of Naosari (Paper on Kisseh-i-Sanjan, Journal Iran. Ass.). He died in 1676 (Ibid).

It seems that Bahman's father, Dastur Kaikobad bin Hamajiâr (Hormazyâr), also was a leading Dastur of Naosari. We find his name mentioned second in the Revayat of Kâus Mahyâr (A. D. 1601), next to that of his *ustâd* Dastur Hoshang, to whom we will just refer (Parsee Prakâsh Vol. I, p. 839). Again, his grand father Hamajyâr Padam also was a known Dastur, his name being mentioned as a leader in a document of 1543 A. D. (Ibid p. 8). Prof. S. H. Hodivala traces the pedigree of this Hamajyâr Padam to Nâgan Ram, one of the very three priests who carried the Sacred Fire after the sack of Sanjan to Naosari. The pedigree of Bahman Kaikobad thus traced is: Bahman-Kaikobad-Hamazyâr-Padam-Kâmâ-Narsang-Nâgan-Râm. (J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIII p. 367). One cannot expect an author belonging to such a learned and respectable family to write an imaginary story and to pass it on as a correct historical story.

The following Table gives the genealogy of the above three learned writers (West. Asha Vol. I No. 2 p. 73).

Padam-Kama-Narsang-Nâgan Râm.

Hamajyâr (His name appears in a document of 1543 A. D., Parsee Prakash I, p. 8).

Kaikobad (His name appears in Kâus Mahyâr's Revayit of 1601. (Ibid p. 839).

Kamdin (Bahman Bahman. Ekji.
Aspandiyar's Revayat
of 1626, Ibid p. 11.)

Framarz. Burjo.
Hormuzyâr
Darab.

As to the preceptor (*ustâd*), Dastur Hoshang, who supplied the author, Bahman Kaikobad, with materials, he was not a person of an ordinary calibre. (a) Bahman (c) His *Ustâd*, Dastur Hoshang, says of him, that he was a wise and virtuous person versed in Zend Avesta, and was a leading Dastur, looked at with respect by all persons in the city. He was

looked at as the teacher (*ustâd*) of the city, and he narrated the story to him, as told in old accounts (گفت باستان). Bahman Kaikobad's account of the learning and fame of his learned *ustâd*, is supported by what can be gathered from other sources, and Prof. S. H. Hodivala has thrown valuable light upon this question. His pedigree, as traced by him, is as follows: Hoshang—Âsâ—Kâmdin—Châyan—Âsâ (or Asdin)—Khorshed—Kâmdin (J. B. B. R. A. S. XXIII. p. 366).

(b) He is the Dastur Hoshang, whose name is mentioned with that of Dastur Meherji Rana in the letter from Persia by Faridun Murzban (*Vide* my paper on "The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana." *Vide* for the text of the address of this letter. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXI p. 132). Dr. E. W. West thinks the letter to have been written in 1570 A.D. (*Vide* Dr. West's compilation of the contents of the Bombay University Ms. of Darab Hormuzyar's Revayat, given by me in the *Asha*, Vol. I, No. 2. p. 74; No. 3 p. 108).

(c) His name is mentioned as "Dastur Hoshang Asa", and as that of a leading Dastur of Naosari in Kâus Mâhiyâr's Revayat of 1601. He is mentioned at the very top as a leading man (*Parsee Prakash* Vol. I. p. 839).

(d) He had a line of known ancestors, who all, were mentioned in one or another of the various Revayats as the leading Dasturs of Naosari. Khorshed Kamdin, his sixth ancestor, was one of the very three Mobads who, according to the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* (couplet 402), carried the Sacred fire from Bamsdah to Naosari. I cannot do better than refer you here to the above article of Prof. Hodivala, to show (a) that both, Bahman Kaikobad the author and the pupil, and Dastur Hoshang Asa the teacher (*ustâd*) who supplied further materials to the author, were lineally descended from the two persons who were living at the time of the Sack of Sanjan and who were two of the very three priests, who, at the instance of Changashah, carried the Sacred fire of Iranshah to Naosari. Hoshang had a son, Shapur, who also is spoken of as a leader of Naosari. He is mentioned in a letter from Persia (مخطوب ولایت بر دستوران زند), dated 996 Yazdazardi, (*i.e.* 1627 A.D.) from Faridun Murzban-Rustam-Dastur Noshirvan Murzban (Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unvala's Ms. containing miscellaneous subjects of the Revayat, (folio 340 l. 13), written in 1012 Yazdazardi *i.e.* 1643 A.D.). We learn from all these facts, that Bahman Kaikobad must have had before him written notes of his own great ancestor, and also those of the great ancestor of Dastur Hoshang—ancestors who had a direct hand in one of the principal events narrated in the *Kisseh i-Sanjan*.

V.

Again, look to the account itself of the *Kisseh*. How simple and natural it is. Of course, we must naturally expect some poetical flourishes of language in a poem of this kind. But apart from this, everything presents a simple narration. I give below the plain facts of the various events, as narrated in the *Kisseh*, and will then proceed to examine those various facts and events to show, how they are correct and supported by other evidence.

2. Evidence from the natural Simplicity of the Account. The plain Story.

The poem begins, as usual, with thanks to and praise of God. The author asks for forgiveness, expresses his humility, and prays for help. He declares, that he bases his narrative on what he had heard from priests (*mobadân*) and on old writings (*bâstânâ*), and that he had also heard the narrative from a Dastur, Dastur Hoshang, who was at the head of the religious affairs of his city (Naosari). After this introduction, he thus gives the narrative; Zoroaster lived and promulgated his religion in the time of King Gushtasp. His religion thrice met with decline. The first was at the time of Sikandar (Alexander) who burnt the books of religion. In 300 years (after Zoroaster), the religion was destroyed. Ardeshir (Bâbakân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty) brought about a revival. Ardai Viraf

had a hand in the revival. There was again a decline, and King Shapur again brought about a revival. Dastur Adarbad Marespand had a hand in this revival. Then the third decline came in the time of Yazdazard, when a Jud-din (a king of another faith) occupied the throne of Persia. From that time, Iran was broken. Both, the country and the religion fell into ruin. Both, the laymen and the Dasturs, had to conceal themselves to observe their religion. Some retired to Kohistân (in Khorarsan) for 100 years. Thence, they had to retire to the city of Hormuz, where they lived for 15 years. They thought it advisable to retire from there also and they sailed to India, where they landed at Diu, and remained there for 19 years. They had to leave that port also and they left by boats. They were overtaken by a storm, when they prayed to God for safety, and declared, that if they landed in safety, they would found a Fire-temple. They arrived safely and landed at Sanjan, where ruled a king named Jâdi-Rânâ. Their leader, a Dastur, went before the king and prayed for quarters. The subjects of the king were pleased to have them among themselves; but the king, seeing them armed, got, at first, a little alarmed. He asked all particulars about them, and about their religion, manners and customs. Having heard these, he gave them quarters on certain conditions, among which two were that they were to give up arms, and to give up their language for that of the country. The conditions were accepted. They were given a site of land, whereon they could found their own new colony. They founded it and named it Sanjan. They then founded a Fire-temple after receiving the king's permission. They sent for the religious requisites for the consecration of the Sacred fire from Khorarsan. With those who brought these requisites, there came several other people also from Khorarsan. About 300 years after this, they scattered over different parts of the country. Some went to Vankaner, and some to Broach, Variav, Anklesar, Cambay and Naosari. A Dastur, named Khushmast, remained at Sanjan with his son Khujasta. Then, there came a catastrophe upon those who remained at Sanjan. The King (Shah of Gujarat) Sultan Mahmud had some information about Sanjan and its ruler. By this time, Champaner had passed into the hands of the Mahomedans (Islam). King Mahmud ordered his prime officer, Alafkhan to conquer Sanjan. The Hindu king of Sanjan, knowing this, sent for the leaders of the Parsee colony, and reminding them of the help they had received from the hands of one of his predecessors, when they first landed at Sanjan, asked their help to repel the Mahomedan invasion. The Parsees fought for their Raja, under the leadership of Ardeshir. At first, they, in the company of the army of their Hindu king, succeeded in repelling the attack. But subsequently, when Alafkhân renewed the attack with a larger army, they all were defeated. Ardeshir was killed. The Hindu Prince (Râe-Zadah, Shah-Zadah) also was killed and Sanjan fell into the hands of the Mahomedans. Most of the surviving Parsees fled with their Sacred Fire to the adjoining mountain of Bâhrut, where they remained for 12 years. They then came down with the Sacred Fire and settled at Bansda, the Parsees of which place welcomed them. At this time, there lived at Naosari a religious-minded charitable Parsee, named Changa bin Asa (or Changashah). He was a leader of the Naosari Parsees and was a great friend of the poor of his community. One year, he, in company of several others, went to Bansdah, to pray before the Sacred Fire there, on the Âdargân festival day. Some time after his return, he represented to his people at Naosari (which then seemed to have a larger Parsee population than at Bansda), that it would be better if the Iranshah Fire was brought to Naosari. The Naosari people consented. So, he arranged with the Sanjana priests who attended on the Sacred Fire at Bansda, and brought it to Naosari. Three priests of Sanjan with their families also went to Naosari with the Sacred Fire. They were Nâgan Ram (ناگان رام), Dastur Khorshed Kâmdin (Qiâmuddin) and Dastur Chayân (or Jâniân) bin Sâbiar (or Sâyar) The author here closes his narrative, blessing the Dastur, Dastur Hoshang, who supplied him with materials for his book. He gives his own name as Bahman Kaikobâd Hormuzdyâr (Hamajyâr) Sanjana. He says, that his father (Kaikobâd) was a Dastur (دستور دین). From the above short epitome, we see that the author gives a simple narrative of several events, which preceded, or which led to, the Exodus from Persia and which followed it in India. There is every thing simple and natural. There is nothing extraordinary to

show that the Kisseh was imaginary. On its very face, it shows itself to be a simple narration of the traditional account of the Exodus and of the first movements of your ancestors who left their father land of Iran for the sake of their religion.

In the consideration of historical questions, the principles that are generally followed are three : (a) Where the same fact is mentioned by different writers on the authority of different persons, that fact must generally be relied upon. That should especially be the case, when the different writers are contemporaries. Now, in the matter of the story of the Exodus, the case is of this kind. Not only have preceding writers spoken of the main event of the Exodus, but also contemporary writers and writers of the very next generation. The statements of these various writers are supported by a long continuous line of subsequent writers, who all do not refer to the Kisseh Sanjan as their authority but whose sources of information were Parsis, with whom they had come into contact at Surat and elsewhere.

(b) Another principle that is generally followed to determine, whether certain facts mentioned by individual writers are correct or not, is this : If a fact is mentioned by only one authority and is not corroborated by any other contemporary writer, what one has to consider is, whether there is anything improbable or unreasonable in the matter, and whether there is any evidence which *contradicts* it. Now in our case, if one would read carefully the simple narration of the Kisseh, he would find that there is nothing unreasonable or improbable in it. Again, the most important point is : that no evidence, *no manuscript, not even a scrap of paper* is produced, giving another state of facts or events, and *contradicting* the statement of the Kisseh. Some mere vague assertions, some of which are self-contradictory, are made.

(c) Again, it is held, that, in determining whether an event is historical, certain incidental allusions to events are as trustworthy as the main narrative. Thus, in our case, take for example, the allusion to the capture of Champaner by the Mahomedans, before the sack of Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud. It is an incidental allusion which is historically trustworthy. If the whole story of the Exodus in the Kisseh was imaginary there was no reason for Bahman Kaikobad to necessarily refer to the capture of Champaner.

Now, as said above, the best test for the truthfulness of an historical account lies in the examination of the statements of the different events or items of that account. If these statements are supported by historical facts referred to in other books, we have a guarantee that the account is correct. So, with that view, we will examine the statements of the principal events narrated in the above account of the Kisseh, and see, how they are supported. Such an examination will prove the truthfulness of the Kisseh.

Before examining the other events connected with the main event of the Exodus, let us examine the early history of the Zoroastrian religion before the Arab conquest, as given in the Kisseh. We find that it is somewhat on the line of what we find in some Pahlavi books, such as Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh, Shatroihâ-i-Airân and Dinkard (Books III and IV). It is, what is found in previous books ; and so, in no way can it be called imaginary. The names of kings Ardeshir Babegan and Shapur, and of Dasturs Ardai Virâf and Âdarbâd, mentioned in the Kisseh as those of the renovators of the Zoroastrian religion are historical names, mentioned in the above Pahlavi books and also in other writings. Sikandar (Alexander the Great) is also mentioned in some of the Pahlavi books, as the accursed (*gzashtah*) Alexiedar, who brought about the ruin of Zoroaster's religion and literature. Therein also, he is said to have done all that about 300 years after Zoroaster. I would here draw your attention to Prof. Hodivala's notes to his translation of the Kisseh in your Journal, wherein he shows, how the details given in this history of the religion are confirmed by previous writings. Thus, the short reference to the early history of Zoroastrianism

is natural, and is well-nigh on the line of some other books. One may not expect such an account in an imaginary tract. Do you mean to say, that Dastur Bahman Kaikobad intentionally gave this correct account of the history of the Zoroastrian religion in the line of the previous Pahlavi writers with a view to mislead his readers to a belief, that his otherwise imaginary account of the Exodus also was historically correct. If you do say so, it is an astounding libel on the memory of a revered Dastur of your community. Please note carefully what he says at the end of his Kisseh. He says that he wrote the accounts of brave men (hâl-e mardân) by the order of God (farmân-i Yazdân). He prays for blessings upon himself from his readers. He sends his salutations (darud) to those early ancestors whose deeds he describes, and prays for blessings over himself in return from their good souls (anusheh-ravân). He wishes that those departed ancestors may pray before God for pardon for any of his faults. He thinks that his honour and position in the next world will be raised by the appreciation and blessings of his readers. In the end, he prays for his preceptor, praises Zoroaster and adores his God. Do you think, a Dastur with such religious-minded pious thoughts would ever think of deceiving posterity by fabricating an imaginary story about our ancestors and try to pass it on as truthful and correct.

The principal events
of the Exodus.

The principal events referred to or narrated in the above mentioned account of the Kisseh are the following.

- 1 The Main fact of the Exodus from Persia to India.
- 2 The Retreat to the mountainous country of Kohistan.
- 3 Retreat to the sea-coast town of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. Retreat to Diu on the coast of Kathiawar. Arrival at Sanjan.
- 4 The Consecration of a fire-temple.
- 5 The Conquest of Champaner by Sultan Mahmud.
- 6 The Sack of Sanjan and the Removal of the Sacred fire on that occasion to Bahrut and thence to Bansda.
- 7 The Removal of the Sacred fire to Naosari.
- 8 Changa Shah's charity.
- 9 The hand which three priests had in taking the sacred fire to Naosari.

In the above list of events, referred to in the historical account of the Kisseh, the main event is that of the Exodus. So, I will first speak of it, and will then refer to the evidence relating to the different minor events.

VI

THE MAIN FACT OF THE EXODUS.

Mr. Nadirsha, on whose authority you rest a good deal, doubts—or from the change of position he has now adopted, it is better to say, he at one time doubted—under the heading of improbability (असंभव). Report of the Zor. Conference pp. 384 and 391), the main fact of the Exodus or Emigration, on the ground, that a number of Zoroastrians continued to live in Persia long after the Arab conquest. We know, that Zoroastrians continued to live in Persia. There was no need at all to point to authorities, because, as a matter of fact, we know that Zoroastrians live in Persia even now. But that fact should not raise any doubts about the Exodus from some parts of Persia, where the Zoroastrians were very hard pressed for life and their religion dearer than life. Mr. Nadirsha, in one place (p. 384), doubts, as said above, the Kisseh's very first principal statement and the very first principal fact of the Exodus. He then, inconsistently in another place, seems to suggest that they came by the land route, and you seem to follow his suggestion (Your letter p. 2. Particular

No. 6), when you say "it is probable that large numbers of Zoroastrians migrated in course of time, though not necessarily in the first two centuries of the Yazdagardi era, by the land route to India." Any how, there is the fact of the Exodus, denied in one place, admitted in another. Laying aside Mr. Nadirsha's implied admission and your half-hearted admission, I will deal here with the whole question.

If you have, or if any body has, doubts about the aggressive policy of the Mahomedan Arabs, one can point to many authors on the subject. I will rest content by referring only to one recent author, Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Professor of the Arabic Language in the University of Leiden, Holland. He says thus: "Certainly, the nations conquered by the Arabs under the first khalifs were not obliged to choose between living as Moslims or dying as unbelievers... They were allowed to adhere to their religion, provided they helped with their taxes to fill the Moslim exchequer. This rule was even extended to such religions as that of the Parsis, although they could not be considered as belonging to the 'People of Scripture' expressly recognized in the Qorân. But the social condition of these subjects was gradually made so oppressive by the Mahomedan masters, that rapid conversions in masses were a natural consequence; the more natural because among the conquered nations intellectual culture was restricted to a small circle, so that after the conquest their spiritual leaders lacked freedom of movement. Besides, practically very little was required from the new converts, so that it was very tempting to take the step that led to full citizenship. (American Lectures on the History of Religions: Mohammedanism, 1916, pp. 63-4.)

The early Parsee emigrants to India have been very properly spoken of by Mr. Karkaria as the Parsee Pilgrim Fathers. The movements of these early Parsee emigrants from Persia can well be compared with the movements of the American Pilgrim Fathers, the Independents from England, who left their dear country for the sake of their religion, and landed on the foreign shores of America, in the 17th century, when "the Anglican policy of Elizabeth, and James, and Charles I, proceeded on this principle, that to allow diversity was to destroy unity, to permit the growth of elements that would prove fatal to the church, involve the denial of the royal authority and the break up of the State . . . Religious men who could not conform, went to live in lands and under laws where obedience to conscience was possible. There was a double emigration, to the Continent and to New England . . . But the emigration to New England was much the more important and alike as regards its influence on Independency and English History. It has been calculated that in the period 1620-1640, upwards of 22000 Punitan emigrants, sailed from English and Dutch ports. The reasons that compelled their departure determined their quality; they were all men of rigorous consciences, who loved their fatherland much, but religion more, not driven from home by mercantile necessities or ambitions, but solely by their determination to be free to worship god. They were, as Milton said ("Reformation in England," Bk. II), 'faithful and freeborn Englishmen and good Christians constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops.'" (Dr. A. M. Fairbairn in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed. Vol. XII. pp. 726 et seq. *Vide* for Milton's passage, his prose works by Dr. C. Symmons (1806) Vol. I, p. 37).

On the subject of some of the wanderings of these Independents, we read: "Permanency of occupation, however, dates from the voyage of the May-flower, which brought about a hundred men, women, and children, who had mostly belonged to an English sect of Separatists, originally in Yorkshire, but who had passed a period of exile for religion's sake in Holland. In the early winter of 1620 they made the coast of Cape Cod; they had intended to make their landfall further south, within the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, which had granted them a patent; but stress of weather prevented their doing so. Finding themselves without warrant in a region beyond their patent, they drew up and signed, before landing, a compact

of government, which is accounted the earliest written constitution in history. After some exploration of the coast they made a permanent landing, December 21, 1620, at Plymouth. . . . A subsequent patent from the council for New England, upon whose territory they were, confirmed to them a tract of land which at present corresponds to the south-east section of the State. They maintained their existence as a colony" (Ibid. Vol. XV. p. 615). We read as follows on the subject of their first difficulties: "The rigours of a new and cold country, combined with poverty and the payment of interest at 45 per cent., made the early years of the Plymouth colony a desperate struggle for existence, but it survived . . . Other little towns were founded to the north of this settlement" (Ibid. Vol. XXIII. p. 729).

The above quotations show, that the history of the American Pilgrim fathers resembled that of our Indian Pilgrim fathers, in several respects. (1) Both left their dear fatherland for the sake of their religion, dearer than their land. (2) Both had "double emigration" *i.e.*, emigration to more than one country. In our case, it seems, that besides those that came to India some had gone to other parts of Asia, even to China (*Histoire générale des Huns, &c.* by M. Deguignes); but, the emigration to India was, to quote the words of the account of the American Pilgrim fathers, "much the more important alike as regards its influence on Independency and English history" and even Indian history. (3) Both passed periods of Exile in other lands before they finally settled and flourished as a colony. (4) Both had met the difficulty and danger of "the stress of weather." (5) Both had to "sign, before landing, a compact of government." (6) Both maintained their existence as a colony. In the case of our ancestors, I will show a little later on, on the authority of some Silhâra grants, that they lived long as a separate colony. (7) Both had to meet the "rigours of a new country"—a country altogether different from their fatherland; and, both had, at first, owing to poverty, "struggles for existence." (8) But both survived and founded "other little towns", a little away from their first "settlements".

If, from the fact of a large number of Zoroastrians continuing to live in various parts of Persia after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, one can doubt the fact of the Parsi Exodus, as Mr. Nadirsha doubts (*Report of the Zor. Conf.* p. 391), and as you seem to follow suit, on the same analogy he must doubt the fact of the voyage and perils of the English Pilgrim Fathers, because a large number of the Independents, in spite of their difficulties in the matter of preserving the freedom of their conscience in matters of religion, continued to live in England. But, as from what we know as a matter of fact, such doubts are not tenable, they must be equally untenable in our case.

But we have another actual similar case. . . An Exodus of Christians to the shores of India, similar to that of our Zoroastrians, took place on the downfall of the Sassanian monarchy, from the Western parts of the Persian Empire, and that also by the sea-route from the Persian Gulf. Anquetil Du Perron says on the subject: "Selon une opinion reçue dans le Pays, plusieurs Chrétiens de Chaldée, fuyant, dans le septième siècle, la persécution des Mahométans, s'embarquèrent à Bassora, et vinrent s'établir parmi les Chrétiens de Saint Thomas" (*Zend Avesta Tome I. P. I. p. 179n.*). Some of the Christians in the Madras Presidency look to these Christian refugees as their ancestors. Some Pahlavi inscriptions there are connected with these Christians. Thus, we see, that even the Christians, who were persecuted by the Mahometans, fled from Persia to India, and they did that by the sea-route from the Persian Gulf. Surely then, there is nothing improbable in some of the conquered Parsees, who were hard pressed in Kohistan, leaving Persia for India by sea from the sea-coast town of Hormuz.

There are Chinese annals which refer to ancient Persians. They even refer to Zoroaster as Sou-li-tche. M. Chavannes has recently collected these references (*Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, (1897) pp. 43-85*). Some of these annals show, that some relations existed between the kings of ancient Persia and China. They also confirm the statement of an Exodus from Persia. We find an account of these annals in M. Deguignes' "*Histoire Générale des Huns,*" published in 1756. It appears that

(b) A similar Exodus of Persian Christians to India by the sea-route, on the downfall of the Sassanian Empire.

(c) A similar Parsee Exodus to China. Some Chinese Annals.

King Yazdazard, known in the Chinese annals as Yisséssé, had, on his defeat at the hands of the Arabs, asked the assistance of the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsung, but it was refused. On the death of Yazdazard, when there was a general flight, one of his sons, named Pirouz or Firouz (Pirou ssé of the Chinese annals), fled to Tokharistan which was under the Chinese Emperor. In 662, the Chinese Emperor, acknowledged him as the King of Persia (Ibid. Vol. I., Part I p. 57). In 674 A.D., he himself went to China and was made a Captain of the Body-guard of the Emperor. In 677, this Persian prince built a fire-temple at a place called Ch'angngan (Sir H. Yule's *Cathay and the Way thither*, Vol. I. ed. of 1915, p. 96). This prince died in 677 A.D. On his death his son Narsey (Narses), the Ni ni ssé or Nini ei ssé of the Chinese annals, was in the service of the Chinese Emperor. He, in company with an army under a Chinese officer, was sent to Persia to claim his ancestral throne, but he had to return, as the Chinese officer did not proceed with him. He returned to China, where, in 707 A. D., he was given an office in the royal court. Between 713 and 755 A. D., some of the Zoroastrian chiefs (*Spahbuds*), who ruled pretty independently on the frontiers, had sent about ten embassies to the Court of China. One of these chiefs was a prince of Tabaristan, whose capital was at Sari. He had refused to surrender to the Arabs. He had received high titles from the Chinese Emperor. In 754 A. D. he sent his prince to China where he was given a high military post. In the end, he died at the hands of the Arabs. In the company of these royal princes and chiefs, many Parsees retired to China. Maçoudi, when he speaks of the route from Persia to China, speaks of it, as commencing from Khorassan (B. de Meynard's *Text and Translation*, Vol. I. p. 347, Chap. XVI). So, just as a number left Khorassan for the city of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, and from there, after some time, left for India, so, some may have left Khorassan for China. The *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. IX, Part II. Gujarat Population p. 185 n.) refers to this retreat, and says that "about the time when they came to India, Parsis were settled in China as missionaries, traders and *refugees*." Anquetil Du Perron also refers to this retreat (Parses qui se retirèrent à la Chine dans le septième siècle avec le fils de Iezdeجرد. (*Zend Avesta* I, p. 336 n).

The Parsees, referred to by Maçoudi as being in China in his time (10th century A. D.), seem to be the remnants of those that fled from Persia with the princes of king Yazdazard's family. This inference is supported by a reference to China in the Pahlavi Epistles of Mânuscheher to his brother Zâdsparam. Mânuscheher (Minocheher) was the head priest of the Zoroastrians of Pars and Kerman in the 9th century A.D. His younger brother Zâdsparam, who was, at first, head priest of Sarakhs in Khorassan, was transferred to Sirkân. He had issued some new decrees on the subject of the purification ceremony of Barashnum, which were considered to be heretical. So, the elder brother protested against that in one of his letters, and said, that disgusted as he was, he would like to flee to China to avoid these domestic anxieties, resulting from having a heretical brother. He writes to his brother: "And I myself (shall have) to retire from the countries of Iran, (and) to wander forth to far distant realms where I (shall) not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. In (my) occupation, moreover, my fortune (may be) to wander forth by water even to China, or by land even to Arûm" (West, S. B. E. XVIII, p. 353. Epistle. II. Chap. VIII 4-5.)

This passage in the Pahlavi epistles goes to show, (a) firstly, that at the time (9th century), when it was written, the time preceding that of Maçoudi by a few years, China was taken to be a place of retreat, where a Zoroastrian Dastur wanted to run away to avoid his domestic troubles. It was not considered to be a happy place where Persian Zoroastrians would like to go. (b) Secondly, it shows, that the Dastur wanted to go there by sea.

All these above facts, as collected from Chinese annals and the Pahlavi passage, show, that many Parsees must have gone to China with the Persian princes and chiefs, who, after the death of Yazdazard, sought the help of China. They prove the main fact of the Exodus, and show, that there is nothing improbable in the fact of the Exodus to India. A Fire-temple was built in China, just as in India, after the fall of Yazdazard by the party that had retired there. That temple no longer exists. But fortunately, the one founded in India still exists under its old name, Irânshâh.

Of course, all historical events cannot be proved with mathematical certainty, but, according to Sir George Birdwood, some stray refugees may have also gone to the West, even to the shores of England. One Ivo is specially mentioned. What Sir George Birdwood says on this subject is interesting and worth quoting. He says: "Europe owes the establishment and endowment of Christianity as a State religion to the fact that Constantine the great was attracted to it by the religion of the Zoroastrians, who had served in the Roman legions under his command. Zoroastrians with the Neo-Platonists and Christians were the three principal spiritualizing influences, closely inter-related, and equally free from dogmatic theology that at last broke down the whole structure of paganism west of the Indus right on to Great Britain; and on the ruins of the temples of Greece and Rome appeared, the domes and towers and spires of the Catholic, Roman Schismatic Greek Churches. In Great Britain, there are, I believe, 40 contemporary monuments of ancient Persians, Zoroastrians of the Roman army of occupation in these islands; and the remains of several of them are to be found along the wall of Hadrian within a cycle sweep of Edinburgh. At St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the abbot of Ramsay in the 11th century, dedicated a chapel to Ivo, a Zoroastrian, who came to England, died here in the 7th century—possibly as a refugee from Iran when first invaded by the Arabs. Our Western code of social etiquette reaches us from the ancient Persian court through the court of the Cæsars of Constantinople and thence through the courts of mediæval Christendom that sprang up out of the dust of fallen Rome. It was this 'Persian apparatus' of social etiquette that taught the Barbarians who overthrew Rome good manners and made us "gentlemen." (Sir George Birdwood's letter to the Edinburgh Parsee Union, The Parsee of 30th August 1908). I will add here what Sir George Birdwood says on the general subject of the Exodus.

"Only a remnant of the Zoroastrians, taking charge of the sacred fire their forefathers had carried in triumph to the Acropolis of Athens, and centuries later had borne, fire answering to fire, along the Bosphorus, in full view of Christian Constantinople, fled with its piously cherished flame, first Eastward, into far off Khorasan, and thence, after fifty or sixty years, passed in constant terror of their implacable enemy, resumed their flight, and now Southward to the rocky, barren, and, as they hoped, inaccessible island of Hormazd, i.e., "Ormus," off the coast of Kerman. But still pursued by their hated persecutors, even to this sea-girt refuge, after ten or fifteen years, they took to their frail *Bagalas*, and sailed right away Eastward from the Persian Gulf to Western India, landing first at Diu (i.e., *Dvipa*, "an island"), at the southern extremity of the Kathiavad peninsula of Gujarat, and commanding the entrance to the Golden Gulf of Cambay. After looking about for a few years in Kathiavad, they (A.D. 715) established themselves a little to the south of Damaun, on the opposite or mainland shore of the Gulf of Cambay, at Sanjan, where in 721, by favour of the benevolent Hindu Raja of the place, they re-kindled the sacred fire, and lived in peace and comparative comfort for about 200 years; extending, as the centuries ran on, outposts of their community successively at Naosari (New-Sari), Surat, Broach and Cambay, at the head of the Gulf—now a second Persian Gulf!—to which it gives its name. But in 1507 Sanjan being attacked by a Muslim force from Ahmedabad, the grateful Parsis assisted their Hindu Raja against them. Their leader Ardeshir defeated the Muslims in a first encounter. (The Genealogy of the Naosari Parsi Priests. English Translation, issued by Austa Naoroz Ervad M. Parveez, written some time after 1899, the date of the Gujarati Edition of Ervad Rustamjee J. Dastur Meherj Rana. Introduction by Sir G. Birdwood, p. 6).

We learn from Tabari (Tabari par Zotenberg, Vol. III, p. 401), that the intercourse between

(c) The Arabs, expecting a re-conquest of Persia by the sea-route, founded Basra.

Persia and India was easy by the sea-route *via* the Persian Gulf. The Arabs expected an invasion and an attempt at re-conquest of the conquered country of Persia, by the defeated Persians with the aid of the Indians by sea. It was this invasion from the sea that they

guarded against, by founding the modern town of Basra on the Persian Gulf. Tabari says:

(I give my translation of what Tabari says on the subject from Zotenberg's French translation): "Now after the battle of Kadesia and the destruction of the Persian army, Omar, fearing, that the King of Persia might demand the help of the King of Oman and of the King of Hindustan and that these kings might give that help, thought it proper to get the country at the mouth of the Tigris occupied by a body of troops and to get a village constructed there to be occupied by Arabs, in order to prevent the Persians from bringing the auxiliary armies by that route." The town thus founded was Basra.

From Tabari's above account of the foundation of Basra, we gather the following facts which go to support the fact of the Exodus to India by the sea-route: 1. Firstly, we learn that the retreating Parsees very properly looked to India as the country likely to give them hospitality. Their very enemies, the Arabs looked to India as the friend of the conquered Zoroastrians. 2. Secondly, the Arabs did not expect that help for the conquered nation by any land route *via* Punjab and Baluchistan, but by the sea-route of the Persian Gulf.

VII.

DIRECT GENERAL EVIDENCE.

Now we come to the question of direct evidence. We have the very important authority (1) The Evidence of Silhâra Grants. of some Hindu Silhâra grants of the 10th and 11th centuries to show, that Sanjân was the colony of the Parsee emigrants from Persia. Sir James Campbell in his Bombay Gazetteer (Thana. Places of Interest, Vol. XIV, p. 302), on the authority of Rev. Nairne (Ibid. Vol. I, Part II, p. 19) says: "In three Silhâra grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries Sanjân is probably referred to under the name of Hanjaman." Sir James has not given his grounds for the probability. I have supplied them in my paper on Sanjân (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-18; *vide* my Asiatic Papers Part I, pp. 201-16). I have shown there, that the word Hanjamana (हंजमन नगर), referred to in the three Silhâra grants of the 10th and 11th centuries, for two of which their two translators, Pandit Râmalochan and Dr. Bühler, have said nothing, and for the third of which its translator, the late Mr. Justice Telang has said: "I can say nothing about Hanjaman," is the old Avesta word Hanjamana (𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀 modern Persian, 'Anjuman' انجمن). I think that the word Râyavâra, of which also Mr. Justice Telang says, "I can say nothing about Râyavâra" (राय वार, Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 44), has some connection with the word Râi, *i.e.*, king, used in the Kisseh for the Indian Râjâ. It may mean King's Street or King's Town. But that is another matter. It was the historical fact of the first Parsee settlers at the town, that led to its being known by the Hindu rulers and their subjects as Hanjamana, *i.e.*, a place where the Anjuman of the new settlers from Persia met together. The three grants are the following:—

1. That found at Thana. It is of the King Arikeshari or Keshideva (Bom. Gazetteer, History of Konkan, Dakhan and southern Maratha countries, Vol. I., P. II, p. 542) Dêvarâjâ of the Silhâra dynasty in Saka 939 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1018).

2. That found by the late Mr. Hormusji Cursetji Asburner in his family property at Bhandup in 1836. It is that of Chhitarâjadeva, Mahâmandaleshvara of Konkan in Saka 948 (*i.e.*, 1026 A. D.)

3. The third grant is that of the illustrious Mahâmandaleshvara King Anantadeva, also known as Anantapâla, the ruler of Konkan in Saka 1016 (*i.e.*, 1094 A. D.)

4. There is a fourth grant which is more important than the above three. It is referred to by Revd. Alexander Kyd Nairne, in his article on the History of the Konkan, in the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. I, Part II, p. 18). It is a grant on a stone-slab which was discovered in 1881 near our Vehar Lake in the Salsette (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, Thana, Places of Interest p. 379). It refers to a grant by Anantdev in Saka 1003 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1081) "of some drammas

to Khârâsân Mandli" (Ibid., I P. II, p. 18 n. 7.) Pandit Bhagvanlal while translating it, has put a query (?) after the words Khârâsân Mandli, to show, that he did not understand the words (Ibid). Prof. S.H. Hodiwala, in a learned article, entitled "Jâdi Rânâ and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan" (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIII pp. 349-70), seems to solve this difficulty of Pandit Bhagvanlal, and thinks, that the word "mandli," if read as such, may be the Sanskrit equivalent of the Iranian Hanjuman or Anjuman; and so, the words "Khârâsân Mandli" may mean "Khorassân Anjuman," and may refer to the colony at Sanjan of the Parsee settlers, who had, according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, come from Khorassan. There is a difference of opinion as to the exact dates of the events referred to in the Kisseh. Prof. Hodiwalla has views of his own. He thinks, that this grant may be a grant to the original Parsee settlers themselves and it may be for the fire-temple itself.

Rev. A. K. Nairne who, as said above, has referred to these Silhâra grants, thus speaks with certainty about the first Parsee settlement at Sanjan: "The other immigrants who in India first found a home in the Konkan were the Pârsis. They are believed to have arrived about the end of the eighth century. It is certain that after living for some years at Diu, they first settled on the continent of India at Sanjân, now an utterly insignificant village, but which is believed then to have extended nearly to the sea coast. Here they were permitted to settle by the Rânâ, who is called Jâde, and whom Dr. Wilson believes to have been Jayadeva, a chief subordinate to the Rajput Kings of Châmpâner or Pâtan. In the next three hundred years they were dispersed through Hindustan; but the places mentioned as receiving them are all north of Sanjan, which agrees with the present facts of their settlements, for it is about Dâhânu, twenty miles south of Sanjan, that Pârsis begin to be found in considerable numbers, and not merely as settlers for purposes of trade." (Bomb. Gaz., History of the Konkan, etc., Vol. I. Part II, pp. 7-8). Further on, he again refers to the matter, and says that "On the Arab overthrow of Yezdejad III (638) the last of the Sassanians, several bands of Persians sought refuge on the Thâna coast and were kindly received by Jâdav Râna, apparently a Yâdav chief of Sânjân." (Ibid. p. 14.)

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, who has, as said above, thrown interesting light on the Silhâra stone-slab grant, found near the Vehar Lake, in the matter of some words which Pandit Bhagvanlal did not understand, even traces the word 'Silhâra,' in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. He says: "I regard the absolutely unconscious preservation of the name (Silhâra) by Parsi tradition and the unexpected confirmation of Bahman's statements by Hindu inscriptions as the most convincing proof hitherto discovered of their resting on a nucleus of, not only genuine oral tradition, but perhaps, of very old written memoranda" (Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XXIII p. 362). Even if his identification of the particular word Silhâra in the Kisseh be doubted by some, the references to Sanjan in old Hindu grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries are sufficient historical evidence of the correctness of the Kisseh.

Again take the fact, that it was the Parsee settlers who gave the town its name of Sanjan. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan refers to the fact. Some Arab Geographers are mentioned as speaking of Sanjan under the name of Sindan. It is doubtful whether they speak of this Konkan Sindan or the Cutch Sindan. I have dwelt on this subject elsewhere (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-18). But, even if it were of the Konkan Sanjan, these Arab Geographers are of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. There are no writers of the time, previous to that of the arrival of the Parsees after the Sassanian downfall, who speak of the town as Sanjan. This fact supports the statement of the Kisseh, that it was the first Parsee settlers who named it Sanjan. Thus, this very fact of the first settlers giving their own name to their new colony at Sanjan, coupled with the above fact, that the Silhâra grants make a special reference to this colony as a separate town (*nagar*) apart from other towns, is a strong proof for the correctness of the historical event of the Parsees first founding a settlement at Sanjan after the Sassanian downfall, and also for the correctness of the Kisseh.

Rev. Nairne, who refers to the grants, on the colony at Sanjan.

(2) Evidence suggested by the name of Sanjan.

I have pointed out elsewhere (Journal B. B. R. A. S. XXI), that it is the Sanjan in the district of Khwaf in Khorâssân that suggested the name to these Parsee emigrants from Khorassan. Prof. Hodiwala, though differing as to the time, confirms my view, when he says: "There can be no doubt that the Konkan Sanjân was originally a colony founded by the Zoroastrian refugees who gave it its name after Sanjan, a town in the Khwaf district of Kohistân—that Kohistân in which they had first to take refuge for religion and conscience's sake and which they afterwards abandoned for more distant lands for the same reasons" (Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XXIII p. 368). According to Barbier de Meynard, the Khorâssân Sanjan is between Nishapur and Merv. (bourgade qu' Isthakhri et Yaquots'accordent à placer entre Niçabour et Merw (Dictionnaire Géographique... de la Perse, p. 580 n.). Prof. Hodiwala goes further, and says, that the name Navteri Nagari (*i.e.*, "the city that measured nine kos by thirteen"), by which old Sanjan is known by the people there (Bom. Gazetteer XIV, p. 301 n. 6), is another form of some such word as Navâyats, *i.e.*, New Race or New Comers, thus, further illustrating the historical fact of the town being founded by the new Parsee settlers (Ibid pp. 369-70).

Take the fact, supported by the authority of old memoranda, that the first Parsees who went to Naosari were from Sanjan. Kamdin Zarthost was the first Parsee priest who went there to perform religious ceremonies, &c. He went there in 511 A. Y. *i.e.*, 1142 A. D. (Parsi Prakash Vol. I, p. 2, n. 4). An old *fihrast* of Sanjan says that in samvat 1271 (A.D. 1215), another priestly family went there from Sanjan (Ibid p. 3, n. 3.). These old memoranda and these dates support the statement of the Kisseh that there was a general dispersion to the adjoining towns from Sanjan and that it took place in or about the 11th and the 12th centuries. There is no tradition, written or oral, old or new that speaks of the Parsees of any town, as coming from any so-called, colony of Punjab, or Pataliputra, Sind or China.

Again take the fact, that all the Mobad or priestly families derive their genealogies in their *nâmgrahan* or genealogical trees, from early Gujarat priests of the 12th or 13th century. This fact supports the statement of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, written in about 1600, that the Gujarat Parsees were descended from the band that landed in Gujarat. No body traces his descent from any ancestor of your Punjab, Pataliputra, Sind or China colony.

An important point is the fact, that in the *âshirwâd* or marriage benediction prayer, we speak of the marriage gift or dowry as that of a certain number of Nishâpurian coins (*do denâr-i-zar-i-surkh-i shehr-i Nishâpur*). Now Nishapur was the chief town of Khorassan ("grand et belle ville du Kohraçân." Mo'djem El-Bouldan de Yaquout. Barbier de Meynard Dictionnaire Géographique etc. de la Perse, p. 577). We know that Nishâpûr had a mint of its own in the first century after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. It was known under the name of the mint of Abrshahar (ابر شهر "cloud city". Vide E. Thomas's "Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments etc. (1872) p. 30), and we know from Yaquout, that Abrshahar is another name of Nishapur (Parmis les noms ou surnoms donnés à Niçabour, on cite encore celui d' Abou-Schehr ابو شهر et d' Ebre-Schehr ابر شهر dont la forme la plus correct est Irân-Schehr ايران شهر. Barbier de Meynard's Dictionnaire Géographique, etc., p. 579). Had the Gujarat Parsees been pre-Sassanian and had come from Hind and Sind, as Mr. Nadirsha appears to infer from certain statements of Ebn Haukal, the coins named would have been those of Hind and Sind, which, according to Ebn Haukal himself, were known as Kâheri (قاري) and Tâutovi (طاووي) Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal. p. 148).

This very fact, that the coins, spoken of in the Parsee Ashirwad, which has continued to be recited from the time of the Exodus upto now, are those of Nishapur in Khorassan, proves very clearly, that the Indian Parsee settlers are the settlers from Khorassan, who came directly from Persia by the sea-route after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. Had it been otherwise, we would not have had the use of the name of the coins of this town.

Again the use of the word, *dinâr*, a Persian coin, in addition to that of the city of coinage, is also very significant. Had the Parsees come and settled in Gujarat from Pataliputra or Sînd or Punjab, referred to by you, they would have mentioned an Indian word for an Indian coin and not a Persian word for a Persian coin.

The statement of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that it is the Khorassan Parsees who had retreated to India, is supported by the fact of the difference of one month between the Indian Parsees and the Iranian or Persian Parsees. It is believed, that the ancestors of the Indian Parsees, having lived, after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, for several years in the mountainous country of Khorassan, were somewhat at ease and free to observe the intercalation with all the accompanying formalities; but the other Persians, living in other parts of Persia, not having that liberty and opportunity, could not observe that intercalation. Hence it is, that we find the difference of one month between the Indian Zoroastrians, whose ancestors had come to India from Khorassan, and the Irani or Persian Zoroastrians. Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji refers to this fact, though his dates are not correct (Kadim Tarikh etc. (1826) p. 27). Thus, this very fact of the difference of one month of intercalation between the Indian Parsees and the Irani Parsees, proves the truth of the Kisseh's statement about the exodus from Khorassan, after the fall of the Sassanian monarchy.

If one were to accept, what you seem to imply vaguely, that, as a great number of Parsees continued to live in Persia even after the Arab conquest, the ancestors of the Sanjan Parsees also must have continued to live there longer, then the intercalary difference ought to have been of more than one month. But, as it is, the difference is only of one month. This not only proves an early exodus, but also the statement, that they lived in the mountainous regions of Kohistân for 100 years.

Again, the existence of about 16 Sanskrit Shlokas, which have come down to us from old, giving a version of what the first emigrants told to the then Hindu king about their belief, manners and customs, supports the statement of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that the first band settled at Sanjan. According to Dr. Burgess, the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* (5th July 1872 p. 214), wherein a translation of the shlokas is published, they "form the oldest document relating to the Parsis in India". We have not got the exact date of the composition of the Shlokas. But scholars know that they are certainly very old. Dr. Wilson speaks of them as "verses presented by them (the Parsees) to the Hindu Rânâ on their first arrival in Sanjan" (The Parsi Religion (1843), p. 113). They are attributed by some to Dastur Neryosang. It is not certain which Neryosang he is. If he is the Neryosang who translated some parts of the Avesta into Sanskrit, then the Shlokas may be taken, as said by Dr. Wilson, to have been composed *ex post facto*. Even then, they are older than the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, by some centuries. The oldest manuscript of Neryosang's Sanskrit translations is dated *Samvat* 1400 *i.e.*, A. D. 1342. It belongs to the library of the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji and is now in the possession of his grandson Naib Dastur Minocheher Kaikhosru. It is on folio 80 b, that we find the *Samvat* date as (संवत्सरेषु चतुर्दश सतेषु) *i.e.*, 1400. Dr. Fuhrer, in his paper on Neryosang's translation, refers to this Ms. (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI pp. 74-87). According to Rev. Fuhrer and Dr. West Neryosang flourished in the twelfth, or the latest, the early part of the thirteenth century. Mr. Shapurji K. Hodiwalla, B. A., who has studied both Avesta and Sanskrit, thinks from the language of the *shlokas*, that they must be older than Neryosang's Sanskrit translations. Anyhow, we see, that even if the Shlokas were *ex post facto*, they were composed at least 300 years before the time of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. They thus prove the authenticity of the statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

We know that there are several Pahlavi inscriptions in the caves of Kanheri, about 25 miles from Bombay. These inscriptions show, that some Parsees had come there as visitors and had inscribed their names. Their dates are 378 and 390 Yazdazardi *i.e.* 1009 and 1021 A.D. (Indian Antiquary Vol. IX, p. 267). The visitors were from Persia. The fact of these Irani Parsees coming to

(6) The difference of one month due to intercalation.

(7) The evidence of the Sanskrit shlokas.

(8) The Pahlavi inscriptions at Kanheri near Bombay.

these Western shores, shows, that they were attracted there by the colony of their co-religionists. It was during their visit to the colony, that they must have gone to the caves. They stayed there for some days, probably, as Dr. E. West says, for a change of air to seek health. Dr. West thinks, that these Parsees may be from Sanjan. He says: "At any rate, the Parsees, who inscribed their Pahlavi signatures, at the Kanheri caves, with dates corresponding to A. D. 1009 and 1021, may have come from Sanjan" (Dr. West's letter, dated 10th June 1898 to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar. Sir Jamsetjee Madressa Jubilee Volume, p. 442). We find no Pahlavi inscriptions in Sind or Punjab of this date, or of any date. This fact of the visit of Persian Zoroastrians to this part of the country, though not strong evidence in itself, is, in connection with other evidence, significant, as showing, that this part of the country was the principal centre after the emigration, where the Parsees lived and flourished.

VIII.

9 EVIDENCE FROM OTHER WRITERS.

Having spoken at some length on the general evidence in support of the main event of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, I will now produce the evidence of various writers. As one of the special qualifications of Mr. Nadirsha, whose authority you follow, you mention the fact of his having travelled in Persia. But some of the authorities, whom I will name, had also travelled in Persia. Some of them had travelled one or two hundred years before your sole authority. Travellers in Persia, like Mandelslo, Sir Thomas Herbert, Fryer, Niebuhr, Malcolm, Ousley and others, were in a far better position and were far better qualified to weigh evidence. Had they, with their experience of Persia, known anything improbable in what they heard of the Indian Exodus, they would have said so.

I will produce this evidence in the following order.

- (A) Writers who preceded Bahman Kaikobad.
- (B) Contemporary writers.
- (C) Dastur writers and other scribes of the next century.
- (D) Subsequent writers.

(A) WRITERS WHO PRECEDED BAHMAN KAIKOBAD.

We have the evidence of Arab writers, who wrote *before* the date of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, to support the main fact of a very early persecution and flight. These authorities conclusively prove the authenticity of the statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The first Arabic book giving this evidence is *Futuh-ul-Buldân* by Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jâbir Al Bilâduri (Vide Elliot's *History of India* Vol. I. p. 113 et seq. for this author). He flourished in the 9th Century (Died A. H. 279 A. D. 892-3). This author refers to a number of Zoroastrians opposing the Arabs at Hormuz and running away by sea. I give the passage below. I am indebted for this translation to Mr. Rustam Meherban Aga, who has kindly translated it from the original Arabic.

"He (*i.e.*, Mujâsa bin Masood) conquered Jeraft by force and having proceeded to Kerman subjugated the people and made for Kafs where a number of the Persians, who had emigrated, opposed him at Hormuz. So, he fought with, and gained a victory over, them and many people of Kerman fled away by sea. Some of them joined (the Persians) at Makran and some went to Sagestan." (For the original Arabic, vide the Text published in 1317 Hijri, 1900 A. D., p. 399, ll. 7-10). The places, mentioned in the above passage, Jeraft, Kafs, Hormuz, Makran, and Sagestan, are all, in one way or another, connected with Kerman. We find this from Ebn Haukal's *Geography*, translated by Sir W. Ousley (1800 pp. 140-45; vide under the heading of the province of Kerman). As to Kerman, referred to in the passage, we must note, that it was taken by old writers to have been situated on the frontier of Khorassan and in the south of it (Barbier de Meynard's *Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse*, p. 483). Ebn Haukal speaks of Hormuz as "the port of Kerman" (Ousley's *Oriental Geography* of Ebn Haukal p. 12).

The mention of the name of Kafs by Biladuri seems to me to be very significant. We saw above that it was the Parsees themselves who gave the name of Sanjan to their new colony and that they named it so from the town of Sanjan in the district of Khawaf in Khorasan. Khawaf or Khwaf is also spoken of as Khâf (Vide Barbier de Meynard's Dictionnaire Geographique &c. de la Perse, p. 213 n. 3 and table p. 626). It is situated in the province of Niçabur (Khorasan) (Ibid p. 213). The boundary of Khorasan extended upto Kerman (Ibid p. 198). The Kafs referred to by Biladuri seems to be the same as Khaf or Khawaf. We do not find any other place of the name of Kafs in Persia in Barbier de Meynard's Geographical Dictionary, based on Yaqout's Modjem-el-Bouldan. This shows that the Khawaf, Khwaf or Khaf, referred to by Yaqout, as being situated in the province of Khorasan, which extends upto Kerman, is the same as the Kafs of Biladuri, which also is associated with Kerman.

Thus Biladuri, an Arab writer of the 9th century, when he says that some of the Parsees had emigrated to Kafs, not only confirms (a) the fact of the Emigration and (b) the flight by sea, but (c) indirectly supports the probability of the later fact of the new colony being named after Sanjan, a town in the Kafs or Khwaf district of Khorasan, to which they had gone when on their way to the sea coast.

Maçoudi, a staunch Mahomedan, refers to the fact, that, on the defeat of Yazdazard, the Parsees being afraid, lest the Mahomedans may extinguish their sacred fire of the temple of Âzerdjoui, carried it away to a safe place. He says (I give my own translation from B. de Meynard's French translation, Vol. IV. p. 76. Chap. LXVIII): "At the time of the Musulman conquest, the Majis, fearing lest the venerated fire in this Fire-temple be extinguished by the Musulmans, left only a part of it (the sacred fire) at Kariân and carried the rest to Nisa and to Al Baidä (in the) district of Fars, with a view to save one of the two altars, if the other was extinguished."

Maçoudi refers also to another great Fire-temple, the sacred fire of which was removed and the temple turned into Musjid, Musjid-i-Souleiman. He says (I translate from the same author, Vol. IV. p. 76, Chap. LXVIII): "One of the most venerated Fire-temples of the Guebres, is that of Istakhr in Fars (Persepolis) . . . Later, the fire was removed and the edifice fell in ruins. To-day (332 Hejira) they consider it as the ancient mosque of Solomon, son of David and they therefore call it Musjid Souleiman. I have seen it. It is about one farsang from the city of Istakhr. It is an admirable monument and an imposing temple." Maçoudi then speaks of its greatness and of its astonishing dimensions.

These passages from a Mahomedan author, who lived in the 9—10th centuries A. D., *i. e.* about seven hundred years before the writer of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, are very important, as they repel the doubts, which your authority, Mr. Nadirsha, seems to entertain about the truthfulness of the Kisseh's statements about the flight of the Parsees for the sake of their religion. This passage of a known Mahomedan author, to whom you also refer, shows, that the Parsees *did* fly away from one region to another. Mr. Nadirsha says: *ન્યારે આપણે જ્ઞેઈએ છીએ કે જરથોશ્તીઓનું રાજ્ય ગયા પછી એસલામીઓની હકુમત નીચે સદીઓ વેર એરાક ફારસ, આદરઆદગાન, તખરીસ્તાન, કાહાત, સોગદ તથા ખારેજમમાં અને છેક ઇ. સ. ૧૬મી સદીની શરૂઆત સુધી ખોરાસાન અને પુર્વ ઈરાનમાં તથા તેરમી સદી સુધી સિંધમાં જરથોશ્તીઓ રહી શક્યા હતા...ત્યારે...ખોરાસાનના જરથોશ્તીઓ ઈરાન દેશમાં એસલામી હકુમત ચાલુ થવાથી પોતાની માલ મીલકત સુકી દઈ નાસલાગ કરતા સંજન આવી વસ્યા હતા, તે વાત અસંભવીત માલમ પડે છે. (Report of the 3rd Zor. Conf. p. 391). You follow Mr. Nadirsha and refer me to Maçoudi in your support. But the above passage from Maçoudi himself shows, that the Parsees *had* to run from one place to another with their sacred fire to save it from being extinguished by the Mahomedans.*

Anyhow, Mr. Nadirsha's own authority Maçoudi, a well-known Mahomedan author of the 9th century, goes against him and says, that the Parsees in Iran *had* to fly with their Sacred fire for the sake of their religion from one place to another.

Take the case of the occasional massacres of the Armenians by the Turks. To be more specific, take the case of their massacre during the present war. Some have consequently gone into exile. Notwithstanding this massacre of hundreds and thousands and notwithstanding the exile of many more, thousands of Armenians have still continued to live in their country and will perhaps continue to live for centuries. Suppose, about five or ten centuries after now, a chronicler, on the authority of some memoranda or notes, were to record in his writing that a massacre of the Armenians took place in the 20th century. Further suppose, that the memoranda, notes, or manuscripts, on the authority of which he wrote, were lost. Suppose then, that a much later writer, about 300 years after the date of the chronicle, were to argue from the fact of the Armenians still living in Armenia, that the fact of the massacre of the Armenians in the early part of the twentieth century, as recorded in a chronicle some centuries later, was a mere myth and a piece of imagination on the part of the chronicler. Will that argument be tenable? Of course not. The same is the case with the event of the persecution and exodus of the Parsees. The fact of a number of Parsees continuing to live in Persia after the Arab conquest, and even the mention of a case of some being well treated by a kind ruler or governor here and there, do not militate against the fact of the exodus of those who were hard pressed.

Please mark your own inconsistency based on the above argument. You say, "What little has come to light renders it probable that the bulk of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia came to India by way of Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind." If the Arab conquerors were so tolerant, as you seem to represent them to be, why did your Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind refugees leave Persia? If the regime in Persia was good enough for the Sanjan Parsees, why was it bad for your Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind Parsees?

Mr. Nadirsha says, that it was an exaggeration on the part of the author of the Kisseh, to say that all the Dasturs and Behedins retired to the mountains and fled to India. (પરિશનમાં એસલામી દોર ચાલવાથી તમામ દસ્તુરો અને બેહેદીનો દીનને ખાતર પહાડોમાં બરાબ બેઠા અને પછી ત્યાંથી હિંદુસ્તાન નીકરી અચ્ચા એ વાત તેા દેખઇતી રીતે શાએરની સરાધત છે. Report of the 3rd Zor. Conf. p. 384.) Here, the exaggeration is on the part of Mr. Nadirsha. He has put the word all (તમામ) in black to underline it. Now, as a matter of fact, Bahman Kaikobad does *not* say that *all* the Parsees came to India. On the contrary, later on, when speaking of the consecration of the Fire-temple, he speaks of another band of Parsees coming from Persia. Again, he fully well knew, from the very fact of the Revayats coming from Persia in his time, that there remained there a number of Parsis. The Revayats were known to him, because they mentioned the names of the well-known members of his family and of his preceptor Dastur Hoshang's family.

We learn from Yaqout's account of Kerman in his Mo'djem el Bouldan, that during the Khalifate of Osman, Ibn Amer led an expedition against Khorasan. Before subduing Khorasan, he sent a special army against Kerman and conquered it. He defeated the army that opposed him and some of the soldiers fled. Yaqout says of those that fled, that some embarked on ships and others went to Seistan and Kerman (Les fugitifs s'embarquèrent, sauf quelques-uns, qui rentrèrent dans le Sedjestân ou dans le Kerman. Dict. Géogr. de la Perse, par B. de Meynard p. 485). We see from this, that a flight by sea was not an unusual event at that time and in that part of the country.

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala has drawn our attention to an old Avesta manuscript, belonging to Ervad Manockji Rustomjee Unwala, which refers to an older memorandum that takes a note of Sanjan (Journal Iran. asso. Vol. II. p. 343). I thank the owner for kindly lending it to me with some other old valuable manuscripts in his possession. This manuscript has one colophon, both in the

3. Yaqout. Born 1178.
4. Evidence from a Memorandum by Dastur Hamajiâr Ram. 1516 A. D.

Avesta and Persian characters, which gives its date, as 1029 Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, 1660 A. D., and the name of its writer as Herbad-Zâdeh Herbad Hormaziâr bin Herbad Framarz bin Herbad Qiyamdin bin Herbad Kuka bin Herbad Homajiâr bin Herbad Padam Sanjana, worshipper of (the Fire temple of) Iran Shâh. This writer then is the father of Darab Hormuzdiâr, the well-known compiler of the Revâyat, known by his name. I give the Persian Colophon below :—

روز امرداد ماه خرداد سال اور یک هزار و بیست و نه یزدجردی نویسنده این کتاب هرید زاده
هرید هرمزیار بن هرید فرامرز بن هرید قیامدین بن هرید کوکا بن هرید همجیار بن هرید پدم
لقب سنجانم پرستار ایران شاه (Folio 458 b).

This colophon is also written, at first, in Avesta characters with some slight verbal alterations. The Ms. bears another colophon giving the date of 1027 Yaz. (1658 A.D.). Now, in this old Ms. of 1660 A. D., we find as follows, a memorandum, which refers to the event of the Irân Shâh Sacred Fire being taken from Sanjan to Bansdah and thence to Naosari :—

श्री आतरा मिहिराम नुसारीमां पधारेआ तेनुं वरस तथा रैन महीनुं लभेआ छे : शंवत १४७५
वरभे माहा शहरवर रैन नेहेरमपंद आआड शुद प थुवे श्री आतरा मिहिराम गहमपार मांहां थानक
पधारेआ शंजलथी वंशदि आवेआ पछि तांहांथी जेहदीन अतनमन मक्षी नुसारी लक्ष आवेआ.
अमे लभेई ते पोथु धनशतिनुं दसतूर हमअरार राम शंजलथानुं कदीम अतुनुं पोथु हतुं ते न्नेः लभेई छे.
(folio 442.)

We learn from this memorandum, that it was taken from an older manuscript, written by Dastur Hamajiar Ram Sanjana. As pointed out by Prof. Hodiwala, this Dastur Hamajiar Ram Sanjana lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, because his name occurs in Jâsa's Revayet of 1516 A.D. (Journal Iran, Asso. II p. 345). We have thus, the authority of a Dastur, who lived about 100 years *before* the date (1600 A.D.) of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, to support three principal events narrated in the Kisseh, viz. (a) The Fire-temple being first founded at Sanjan, (b) the removal of the sacred fire to Bansdah, (c) and the removal thence to Naosari.

Garcia da Orta (1490-1570), a Portuguese Doctor, had landed at Goa, on 12th March, 1534.

He was also at Diu and had travelled a good deal in India. He wrote a work on the drugs of India, under the title of "Coloquios dos simples edrogas he cousas medicinais da India." *i. e.*, "Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India." The first edition of this was published in 1563. In this book, the author thus speaks of the Parsees : "There are also merchants called Coaris, and in the kingdom of Cambaia (Cambay) they are known as Esparcis (Parsees). We Portuguese call them Jews, but they are not so. They are Gentios who came from Persia" (Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India by Garcia da Orta, translated by Sir Clements Markham (1913) p. 445). Here we find, that a Portuguese writer, who wrote long before Bahman Kaikobad, referred to the Parsees as coming from Persia, and not from any parts of Hind or Sind. The Coaris of the Portuguese are the Guebres or Parsees. The author also refers to a Parsee. He says, "A rich merchant well known to common fame, and well-read in their literature named Khoja Perculim served as secretary to the governors (Ibid p. 7.)." Sir C. Markham the translator of Garcia da Orta, says in a foot-note, that this man was "a Parsee. When Bahadurshah ceded Barçaim to Nuna da Cunha in 1534, Khoja Perculim served as interpreter, and he then became known to Garcia da Orta" (Ibid. p. 7 n. 1). The word Khoja in this name, can be explained as an honorific name like Bohrâ which was applied to the Parsees as well as to others in those times. As to Perculim, we are not in a position to identify the name.

According to Father Anthony Monserrate, who was at the Court of Akbar for two years (1580-1582), and who has, in his manuscript account in Portuguese of his travels and stay at the Court of the Mogul King, entitled "Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius" (Vide Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. VIII. (1912) p. 186), referred to the Parsees, the word "Coaris"

used by Portuguese writers, like Garcia Da Orta in the above passage, is used for the Guebres or Parsees. Revd. H. Hosten S. J. of Calcutta has kindly sent me a translation of the passage from the original Portuguese Manuscript which he proposes to publish. Monserrate started from Goa in December, 1579, went to Xeul (Chaul), Daman, Pahnera (Pandera), and Bulsar, which he says meant Bucephala or Ox's head, and thence to Naosaree. While speaking of this town he says: "Nausari is the chief seat of certain people who call themselves Persians or Jezenese, from the town of Jeze in Persia. They are Gabers or as the Portuguese say, Cuaris."

The statement of the Kisseh, that the Parsees who were settled in Gujarat, were the descendants of the first Parsee refugees who came there after the final defeat of the Persians by the Arabs, is supported by the work of a learned Mahomedan author of Akbar's time, who wrote *before* the date of this Kisseh and who therefore cannot be taken as having followed the Kisseh. He is Akbar's well-known minister Abul Fazl, (1551-1602), the learned author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, written in 1598 A. D. (Blockmann's *Ain-i Akbari* Vol. I. p. XXX). While speaking of the Subah of Gujarat and of its town Raner (Rander) near Surat, he says: "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia settled here. They follow the teaching of the Zend and the Pazend and erect funeral structures. Thus through the wide tolerance of His Majesty every sect enjoys freedom." (Col. Jarrett's translation, Vol. II. p. 243). This statement of Abul Fazl about the Parsee settlers in Gujarat (*Calcutta Text*, Vol. I. p. 488 l. 2. *زردشتی کیش از فارس آمده بنگاه ساختند*) is very important and significant. It shows (a) that the settlers had come directly from Persia; (b) and that they had their first settlement (bungâh) there. (c) Again, the reference to Akbar's tolerance toward their religion shows, that, by implication, Abul Fazl referred to their being driven away from Persia for want of religious tolerance.

Gladwin (Abul Fazl's *Ayeen Akbari* (1800) Vol. II. p. 65), while translating the above passage of Abul Fazl, uses the words "The followers of Zerdusht, when they fled from Persia," thus showing, that he properly understood Abul Fazl, who said, that the Zoroastrian settlers of Gujarat were the descendants of those that had fled from Persia as the result of the intolerance of its conquerors.

IX

(B) CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

Bahman Kaikobad wrote his *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* in 1600 A. D. He must have been young at the time, as he speaks of his preceptor Dastur Hoshang, as an old man. So Rev. E. Terry, who came to India in 1615, and Rev. Henry Lord, who was a priest of the English Factory at Surat in 1621, may be taken as his contemporaries. In the same way, Sir Thomas Herbert, who was at Surat in 1626, Mandelslo, who was in Surat in 1638, and Niccolao Manucci, who was in Surat in 1656 may be taken as his contemporaries. We shall see from the accounts of these writers, that they substantiate the main fact of the Exodus as given in the Kisseh. Had the Kisseh been imaginary, it would have been known and condemned as such at the very time when these travellers were at Surat and when they learned the main facts there. But not being so imaginary, they in the natural course of their enquiries, learnt the same main facts as narrated in the Kisseh.

Edward Terry, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe (1568-1644), the ambassador (1615-18) to the Mogul Emperor Jehangir, came to India in 1615. He says, "Now there is a race of other Heathens, I named before, living amongst those Hindoos, which in many things differ very much from them; they are called Parsees, who (as they say) originally came out of Persia, about that time Mahomet and his followers gave laws to the Persians, and imposed a new religion on them; which these Parsees not enduring, left their country, and came and settled themselves in East-India, in the province of Guzarat, where the most part of them still continue, (though there are some

6. Abu Fazl
1598 A. D.

Evidence of
five contempo-
rary European
Writers.

1. Terry 1615.

of them likewise in other parts of India) but wherever they live, they confine themselves strictly to their own tribe or sect." (A Voyage to East-India by Edward Terry, 2nd ed. 1777 p. 336. 1st ed. in 1655). Terry then proceeds to describe the manners and customs of the Parsees and says at the end: "For my part I do believe that there is very much of truth in the particulars I have inserted, if there be any credit to be given to some men of much integrity, that lived amongst them, who made it a great part of their business to be satisfied in many of the particulars here spoken of" (*Ibid.* p. 344).

Here, we have the authority of a learned visitor to India in 1615, a very contemporary of the author of the *Kisseh*. He confirms the *Kisseh* in the following points: (1) The Arab persecution for religion after the Arab conquest. (2) The Exodus to the shores of Gujarat to escape from that persecution. There is one important thing to be noted; and it is, that Terry heard the story of the Exodus, &c., from honest intelligent Parsees, who knew well what they said and who were satisfied that what they learnt and said was true. This fact shows, that the story of the Exodus, as narrated by Bahman Kaikobad, was not at all imaginary and manufactured by him. It was what was generally known among the Parsees at the time when it was written in the *Kisseh*. The writer himself notes his satisfaction, and says, that he himself believed all that was said to him about the Parsees and their history.

Rev. Henry Lord, in his "Discovery of Two Forreigne Sects, in the East-Indies," while speaking of the Parsees, thus speaks at first about his authority. "I
 2. Henry Lord
 1621 A. D. joyned my selfe with one of their church-men called their Daroo, and by the interpretation of a Persee I gained the knowledge of what hereafter I shall deliver, as it was compiled in a book writ in the Persian character, containing their scripture, and in their owne language, called their Zundavastaw" (Introduction. A Discovery of two Forreigne Sects in the East Indies viz., the Sect of the Banians, the Antient Natives of India, and the Sect of the Persees, the Ancient Inhabitants of Persia. Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels Vol. VI, (1732) p. 328). He then speaks thus of the Indian Parsees: "These Persians, or Persees are a people descended from the ancient Persians. . . . What time the Arabian captaines of the sect of Mahomet, made invasion into his (Yesdegerd's), country . . . hee was forced to flye to Karason. . . . The Mahometans subjected the natives of the countrey as vassals unto them; and as new lords bring in new lawes, they contented not themselves to bring them to their forme of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to Mahomet's constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the Mahometan custome, contrary to the forme of their owne religion and worship. These Persees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their owne lawe, and lesse able to reject their yoake, many of them by privie escape, and as close conveyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the Indies, purposing to proove the mildnesse of the Banian Raiahs, if there, though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion. So repairing to Jasques a place in the Persian gulph, they obtained a flette of seaven junks to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shoares of India, in course of trade and merchandise. It happened that in safety they made to the land of St. Johns (Sanjan)" (*Ibid.* Chap. I. pp. 328—29). Lord's account is important for various reasons. (a) Firstly he had heard what he describes from Parsee priests. (b) They gave the account from some Persian writings in their possession, contained in a book which also contained their Zend Avasta. This fact proves the statement of Bahman Kaikobad, that what he described in his *Kisseh*, was on the authority of previous writings. Lord was a contemporary of Bahman Kaikobad and wrote in 1621 *i.e.*, only about 21 years after the date of the *Kisseh*. So he must have heard the history from the priests and seen their books some time before 1621. They could not have read before him from Bahman Kaikobad's *Kisseh* written only a few years before they supplied information to Lord. This proves the existence of some other independent previous writings or memoranda. In many a manuscript, even now, we find such memoranda or notes mixed up with some Avasta writings. Suppose,

for argument's sake, we say that they may have read from copies of Bahman's Kisseh. This circumstance then would show, that they accepted Bahman's narrative as truthful and historical. Had it been imaginary, not based upon any previous writings, they would have rejected it. (c) Thus, these other independent manuscripts in the hands of the priest-informants of Lord, a contemporary of Bahman, prove various facts of the Exodus, such as (a) the persecution (b) the retreat to Khorassan, (c) retreat to Hormuz, (d) voyage by sea, (e) and arrival at Sanjan.

Sir Tho. Herbert (1606-1682), a well-known traveller and author, who had come to India in 1626, and who was thus a contemporary of Bahman Kaikobad, 3. Sir Tho. Herbert (1626). said, "Turn we now to another sort of Gentiles in Surrat and Guzzurat, called Persees, who are a people descended out of Persia, banisht hither (to avoid Mohometry and circumcison) upon the death of valiant Yezdgird the Persian King, who died Anno Dom. 635 or thereabouts. . . . Into India these Persees came, (such time as Omar the second Chaliph after Mahomet subjected Persia) in five juncks from Jasquez, sailing to Surrat, where after treaty with the Rajeaes and Bannyans, they got leave to plant; and living peaceably, to exereise their Religion" (Some Years' Travels into divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, describing more particularly the Empires of Persia and Industan (1665) p. 55). Thus, Sir T. Herbert's account confirms (a) the facts of (a) the persecution (b) and the Exodus (c) by sea-route (d) early after the fall of Yazdazard (e) and the fase of the treaty with the Râjâ. So, his account is important, as it shows, that the fact of the Exodus did not arise in the imagination of the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan.

John (Jean) Albert de Mandelslo, who was at Surat in December 1638 said: "Besides the Benjans (Banyâs), there is yet another sort of Pagans in the Kingdom of 4. Mandelslo. 1638. Guzuratta, whom they call the Parsis. These are the Persians of Fars and Chorasan, who fled into those parts, to avoid the persecution of the Mahumetans in the seventh Age. For Abubeker, having undertaken to establish the Mahumetan Religion in Persia by force of Arms, the King perceiving it was impossible for him to oppose it, took shipping with eighteen thousand men at Ormus, and landed in Indosthan. The King of Cambaya, who was a Hindou, or Indian, that is, a Pagan, as himself, received him to dwell in his Country, into which that liberty drew several other Persians, who, with their Religion, have preserv'd and continued their ancient manner of life." (Mandelslo's Travels into the Indies. The First Book, p. 58, as given at the end in "The Voyages and Travells of the Ambassadors . . . Written originally by Adam Olearius and rendered into English by John Davies," 2nd ed. of 1669. For the French, vide Les Yoyages Du Sieur Albert de Mandelslo. 1st ed, of 1719 col. 180. 2nd ed. of 1727, column 180).

In this account of Mandelslo, we find some new statements. For example, the leader of the emigrants, the Dastur, is spoken of as the King. Even upto a few years ago, laymen called their priests as 'padshah' i.e., king. I myself remember, being so addressed in my younger days. This reminds us of the fact that the three Magis, Persian Mobads or priests, who visited infant Jesus Christ, are also spoken of by some as kings. These little differences prove that there is in no way any attempt to blindly follow the Kisseh, but that this is an independent account of the tradition heard (in 1638), at well nigh the same time when Bahman Kaikobad lived. The differences may be due to transmissions through interpreters or to other reasons. We find herein, (a) the main fact of the Exodus from Persia, (b) after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, (c) by the sea-route to the hospitable shores of Gujarat, (d) where an Indian king kindly welcomed the emigrants.

Niccolao Manucci (1639-1712), a well-known Venetian traveller, who travelled both in Persia and India, and who stayed very long in India, has given a long 5. Manucci 1656. account of India. His account was first brought to public notice in 1705 by Father Catrou (1659-1737) under the title of "Histoire Générale de l' Empire du Mogol, depuis sa foundation, sur les Mémoires de M. Manouchi, Venetian, par le Père François

Catrou, de la Compagnie de Jesus". We have an excellent English translation of his work in four volumes from the pen of the late Mr. William Irvine, under the title of "Storia do Mogor or Mogol India (1653-1708) by Niccolao Manucci Venetian," published in 1907. He had come to India and landed at Surat in 1656. He was well-nigh a contemporary of Dastur Bahman Kaikobad. He had lived for the most part of his life in India and had thrice visited Surat. So, what he says of the Parsees, is after his long experience of travels both in Persia and India. He says :

"In Surat there is a class of men called Parsis, worshipers of fire, who in former days were inhabitants of Persia. But when first the Mahomedan religion got into Persia, the king tried to force them to become Mahomedans. For this reason, they sent an embassy to the Hindu prince of Surat, asking him to grant them permission to emigrate into that country with their families, where they would become his permanent subjects. The Hindu prince received the embassy and allowed them to come, on condition that they should neither slaughter cows nor eat cows' flesh. He promised them the same rights as his other subjects. They came to Surat, where unto this day there are numbers of them, as also in different villages, and in the Portuguese territory adjacent to Damao (Daman)" (Irvine's Storia do Mogor, Vol. I. p. 63).

In this passage, we find confirmed, the following facts referred to in the Kisseh : (a) The religious persecution, (b) the emigration to India with families, (c) the Hindu welcome (d) certain conditions on which Parsees were allowed to land in India.

X.

(C) DASTUR WRITERS AND OTHER SCRIBES OF THE NEXT CENTURY.

We have the writings of three learned Parsee Dasturs, two of whom, though not the contemporaries of Dastur Bahman Kaikobad, flourished, in his own century and were contemporaries of the generation next to that of Bahman. Had they found that the Kisseh-i-Sanjan of Dastur Bahman Kaikobad, which was known to them, and of which they themselves had made copies, was imaginary or even partly imaginary, they would have exposed the writer in their books or compilations. Three of these Dasturs have made copies of the Kisseh.

Take the case of Dastur Darab Hormuzdyâr, who came from the same family from which Bahman Kaikobad came and was a contemporary of the generation next to that of Bahman. He was the compiler of the well-known Revayat, known by his name. In his compilation, he has noted the difference of opinions among Dasturs of Persia on various points of manners, customs and ritual. His Revayat, contains the oldest manuscript hitherto known, of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. An old manuscript of this Revayat, containing the Kisseh-i-Sanjan is that of the year 1679 A. D., written by the compiler, Darab Hormuzdyâr himself. Thus, we find, that the Kisseh-i-Sanjan is embodied in a manuscript written 79 years after it was written. Darab Hormuzdyâr flourished shortly after Bahman Kaikobad, the author of the Kisseh. So, had the Kisseh been an imaginary one, or an untruthful one, he would not have embodied it in his great Revayat, wherein, he was careful, for the sake of truth, to give the opinions of different Dasturs when they differed on various questions. His times were so near those of Bahman Kaikobad, that, had there been any thing untruthful or incorrect, he would have known that, and thus knowing it, would have said so.

Dastur Darab Pâhlun lived from 1667-1734, *i. e.*, in the very century in which Bahman Kaikobad lived. He was a well-known Dastur of Naosari and was the author of the well-known Persian books, the Farziat-Nameh and the Kholaseh-i Din. We find, that he had written a copy of the narrative of the Parsee Retreat. That Ms. is in Paris (M. Blochet's Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, (1900) p. 88). Now, had Bahman Kaikobad's story been an

1. Darab Hormuzdyâr, about the middle of the 17th century.

2. Dastur Darab Pâhlun 1667-1734.

imaginary one, one not believed in by his contemporaries, a learned author like Dastur Darab Pahlun, a contemporary of the very next one or two generations, would have come to know that, and, knowing that, would not have followed suit and copied the narrative.

Take the case of the *Kisseh-i-Zaratushtiân-i-Hindustan* (*i. e.*, the Account of the Zoroastrians of India), written by the learned Dastur, Dastur Shapurji Manookji Sanjana who is often referred to by Anquetil Du Perron in his *Zend Avesta*. This book was written in 1765. We have two copies of the original, written by the author himself—one in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library at Naosari, and another with Mr. S. M. Desai. This Dastur lived from 1735 to 1805. In his account he has followed the *Kisseh-Sanjan*. Not only that, but he has in some places even followed its wording. This fact shows, (*a*) that the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* has not come to the notice of the Parsees of Bombay suddenly in the 20th century. (*b*) It further shows, that, had it been imaginary or unhistorical, a writer of the century next to that of its writer would not have followed it. Being close to his times, he may have heard from the sons or grandsons of the contemporaries of Bahman Kaikobad, that the book was imaginary, and so, while giving his narrative, would have said so and not followed his version. Dastur Shapurji Sanjana, after narrating the early events of, and after, the arrival at Sanjan, adds his own narrative of later times, *e. g.* that of the foundation and consecration of a fire-temple at Naosari.

There are several old Manuscripts which refer to the Exodus and the events connected with it. The late Ervad Sheriarjee Dadabhai Bharucha has referred to several old Parsee Manuscripts containing Avesta prayers, and Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian and Sanskrit writings on miscellaneous Parsee subjects. Among these, there are two of this kind (Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees Part I, p. XVIII). Prof. S. H. Hodiwala has in his articles in your own Journal (Vol. II. 309 et seq. 341 et seq., &c.) drawn attention to these and to other old manuscripts written after the date of the *Kisseh*, which contain references both to the main event of the Exodus and to the other events associated with it. I have examined most of these manuscripts. The references in these and other Mss. prove two things. (*a*) Firstly they prove that the narrative of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* is historical and true. Had it been imaginary, the writers of these manuscripts being nearer to the time of Bahman Kaikobad, would have, from their then knowledge, known that it was imaginary and so would not have copied the *Kisseh* or referred to its narrative in their writings. (*b*) Secondly, they prove, that neither the *Kisseh* nor its narrative has been suddenly launched before us in the 19th or 20th centuries, but has a continuous unbroken tradition and has all along been taken as historical. I will refer here to some of these manuscripts.

(*a*) There is an old Manuscript of miscellaneous writings, about 167 years old, which takes a note of the Exodus &c. It is named E M U₁₁ by the late Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha (Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsees, Part I. Introduction p. XVII). It belongs to Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala. The scribe is Ervad Darab Dastoor Manockji Dastoor Palonji, a nephew of the well-known Dastoor Darab Pahlun. Its colophon is dated Samvat 1807, *i. e.*, 1751 A.D. (folio 96 b). There is a second colophon dated Samvat 1806 *i. e.*, 1750 A.D. (folio 101a). This manuscript of 1750-51 takes a note of the various events associated with the Exodus. This note written in a mixture of Persian and Gujarati languages but in Avesta characters runs thus (fol. 119 a) :

સંવત્ સાત સતિતેરમ્ ઇરાન જમીન થી દસ્તુર મોખદોએ યા બેહેદીન અંગેખતન કુચ દર્દ. મતદરક-
વાસ સાલ પંબહ, કેહિસ્તાન સદ સાલ, હરમજદ પાન્ગ દેહ સાલ, દીવ નોજ દેહ સાલ સંબન સે સદ
સાલ, વાંસદે ચેહાર દેહ સાલ, દર નુસારી પાપી રહી.

This memorandum thus refers to the following events of the Exodus: (*a*) one hundred years in Kohistân, (*b*) fifteen years in Ormuzd, (*c*) nineteen years in Diu, (*d*) three hundred years in Sanjan., (*e*) fourteen years in Bansdah, (*f*) then in Naosari.

(b) There is another manuscript by the same scribe, named E M M₁₂ by Ervad Sheriarji who calls it the second volume of the above E M M₁₁. (Ibid., p XIX). It is dated roz 12 mah 3 Samvat 1808 (1752 A.D.). On folio 290, we read as follows:—

संवत् ७७७ मां श्री धरान ज्मीनधी दस्तुर ता० बेहेदीनुच्चे कुचकीधी ते वगत लप्पीसि. वरस.

५० मतदरकवास वरस ५०

१०० डेहोस्तांनमां १००

१५ हरमण्डमां १५

१९ दीवमां १९

३०० संजनमा ३००

१४ वांसदि १४

६२ नुशारी बाकी रही.

Thus there are noted the following events associated with the Exodus: (a) Stay of one hundred years in Kohistan, (b) fifteen years in Hormuz, (c) nineteen in Diu, (d) three hundred year in Sanjan, (e) fourteen in Bansda, (f) at last in Naosari.

Thus we see that two old Mss. of a scribe, who lived in times midway between Behram Kaikobad and ourselves, refer to the Exodus and to the events associated with it, and show, that the story in Bahman Kaikobad's Kisseh is not suddenly launched before us now in the 19th or 20th century. These Mss. refer to some wanderings of 50 years before the retreat to Kohistan. Bahman Kaikobad does not refer to these wanderings. This fact shows that there existed also some memoranda or notes, other than those followed by Bahman. These independent notes thus support the Kisseh in main points.

There is an old copy of the Kisseh, which belongs to Ervad Manockji R. Unwala. It is dated roz Âstâd, mah Asfandârmad 1136 Yazdazardi (i.e., 1767 A.D.)

(c) Herbad Bahram Sheheryâr's old Ms. dated 1767.

It was written by Herbadzadeh Herbad Bahram ebn Sheheryâr ebn Mobad Framarz (colophon at the end on f. 16b).

Ervad Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala has an old manuscript, containing a copy of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan itself and several other writings. This manuscript is

(d) An old Manuscript about 150 years old.

about a hundred and fifty years old (Prof. Hodiwala. Journal Iranian Association Vol. II, p. 310). Not only does this old manuscript contain

a copy itself of the Kisseh, but it gives the following note:

संवत् ७७२ वर्षे आवाणु शुदि ६ वार शुके रोज २ माह ४ सने ८५ छिनदरदी ज्येवे दने श्री आरासानधी श्री बेहेदीनान श्री संजाणु मध्ये माहराज्य श्री नदीराणनां वपतमां आवेज्या.

Laying aside the controversial question of the dates, we find here a reference to the main event of the Exodus, saying that "the Behedins (Zoroastrians) came to Shri Sanjan from Shri Khorassan in the time of Mâhârâjya Shri Jadi Rana. Please mark the purely Indian phraseology of the note, as observed in the use of the words, "Shri" and "Mâhârâjya". It points to a genuine historical tradition, made in the right Indian or Hindu fashion, and shows that there was no blind following of the Persian Kisseh.

In the Dastur Meherji Rana Library at Naosari, there is a manuscript written by the late Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana. He had copied it from an old Ms. of which

(e) An old Memorandum of 1773.

unfortunately he does not give the name or any account. It is the Ms. numbered F. 23 in the Catalogue of the Library and bears on the back

the title نیرنگ نیرنگدین در پہلوی و نیرنگ پراوم و ورس وغیره بابتها Therein, (on pp. 71-72 counting from the left hand side) we find a memorandum, which, from the date given therein, seems to have been written in Samvat 1829, Yazdazardi 1142. i.e., 1773 A.D. Prof. Hodiwala has referred to that memorandum in your Journal (Vol. II, p. 314).

The Memorandum runs thus :

ધી ઇરાણીથી દશતુર તથા બહેદીનાએ કુચ કીધી અને તાંહાંથી નીશરિઆ શવંત ૭૭૭ માં તેને શવંત ૧૮૨૯ સગે તથા સને ૧૧૪૨ ઇઅજ્જદ્દરી સગીન વરશ ૧૦૫૨ યાએઆં તેની તફસીલ લખી છે.

૫૦ મતફરકાત રાહમાં ઇઆને પરચુતન જગાઓમાં તથા ગામોમાં વરશ.

૧૦૦ કેહિસ્તાનમાં વરશ.

૧૫ હરમજ શેહેરમાં વરશ.

૧૯ દીવ શેહેરમાં વરશ.

૩૦૦ શનજાણમાં વરશ.

૧૪ વાંશદામાં વરશ.

જુમલે ૪૯૯

૫૫૪ શવંત ૧૨૭૫ માં નોશારી આવેઆ તેને શવંત ૧૮૨૯ સને ૧૧૪૨ ઇઅજ્જદ્દરી સગીન વરશ ૫૫૪ થયાં છે. જુમલે ૧૦૫૨.

શ્રી આતશ બહેરામ સાહેબને નોશારી આવી ચાંગા શાહ વગરે : અનજુમન લાવેઆ તે શવંત ૧૪૭૨ શને ૭૮૫ ઇઅજ્જદ્દરીમાં લાવેઆ તેને શવંત ૧૮૨૯ સને ૧૧૪૨ ઇઅજ્જદ્દરી સગીન વરશ ૩૫૭ યાએઆં છે.

This memorandum, about 144 years old, refers to all the events connected with the Exodus viz. (a) The Retreat, one after another, to Kohistan, (b) to Hormaz, (c) to Diu, (d) to Sanjan, (e) to Bansda, (f) and to Naosari (g) and the removal of the Sacred fire to Naosari at the instance of Changa Shah.

The late Khan Bahadur Bamonji Byramji Patel has referred to a manuscript of the (f) Dastoor Rustamji Temulji Mirza's Manuscript of 1816, Kisseh-i-Sanjan, written by Dastur Rustamji Temulji Mirza (1784 1839) of Udwada. (Parsee Prakâsh Vol. I p. 837). It bears the date of Samvat 1872 i. e. 1816 A. D. This Dastur not only copied the Kisseh-i-Sanjan but also referred in a note to the Exodus and its date.

I have referred to all these old manuscripts to show, that irrespective of the question of dates, they go to prove the fact, that the great event of the Exodus and the other events associated with it have all along been believed by our people as correct and historical and that the Kisseh has not been suddenly put forward before us in the 20th century.

The language of the colophons of these old manuscripts shows, that the writers looked at them as semi-religious and that they wanted to stick to truth. For example, mark the language of the colophons of the manuscripts of Darab Manock Pahlun referred to above. He says in one colophon (M. R. U₁₁ f. 96b) : “દીન પર આહેઆ કરી લખી છે. કાંઈ ગલત હોય તું દાદાર હોરમજ્જદ માફ કરજો.” i. e., This is written, out of love for religion. If there be any mistake, O Creator Hormazd! pardon me for that.” We find similar language elsewhere (M. R. M₁₂ f. 189a) : “કાંઈ ગલત હોય તું દાદાર માફ કરજો.” i. e. “O Creator! Pardon me, if there be any mistake.” The tone, method, and the language of the colophons of some of these old writings, remind us of some of our Afringâns and Afrins. Such pious writers would not therefore pass down to posterity, as historical and correct, what was imaginary.

We saw above, that several old manuscripts are known as containing copies of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. My main point in referring to these is this. If the Kisseh-i-Sanjan was merely imaginary and a piece of poetic fancy by Bahman Kaikobad, how could subsequent priestly scribes, include it in their collections or writings. Being nearer to Bahman's time, they would know its imaginary character. Knowing that, they would avoid embodying it in their collections and writings which are looked at as semi-religious, if not wholly religious.

Please imagine an analogous case. Suppose that a modern writer writes a book, wherein he dwells upon his imagination and gives an imaginary account of the advent of the British in India about 300 years ago, and of the spread of their power. In such a case, you would

hardly expect, that the learned writers of the next one or two generations or of the next century would reprint that account, or refer to the events in that account, as historical. What you would expect is quite the converse. Modern writers would at once run down the above writer, and find fault with him for passing as historical what was merely fictitious. Not only that, but later writers would not refer to the account or the events narrated in it, as old historical events. The same should be the position in the case of the Kisseh.

Writers well-nigh contemporary have made copies of the Kisseh, and writers of subsequent centuries upto now have made copies of it. Anquetil Du Perron, who stayed at Surat for three years, 1758 to 1761, with the special object of studying Parseeism, speaks of it as a historical tract. He carries a copy of it to France and even translates it into Latin. All this could not have happened had the Kisseh been imaginary.

XI.

(D) SUBSEQUENT WRITERS.

Justification for the evidence of some subsequent old Travellers on the Subject of the Exodus.

Perhaps, one may question the propriety of referring to subsequent writers as evidence of the truthfulness of the Kisseh. But there are several reasons to do so, the principal being that of showing the continuity of the tradition.

Most of these writers, have, while speaking of the Parsees of India, referred to them as having been compelled to come to India after the downfall of their Persian Empire, and have said, that they came by sea and landed and settled in Gujarat. Some of these travellers flourished in the very next century, within about 100 years after the date of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. One can understand, that a written imaginary narrative or story, after being forgotten for about 300 years, when it comes to light again, is likely to be mistaken for a correct historical narrative or story. The glamour of a so-called new discovery may, for the time being, blind the mental eyes of the people of the time, in the matter of its truthfulness. Mr. Nadirdsha, to whom you refer as your authority, in the very beginning of his paper, seems to think, that the modern Parsees came to know only recently about the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, written about 300 years ago, and that, they, without any critical examination, accepted it as true (ત્રણ સદીની વાત પર લખાયેલા એક કીસ્સાને પારસીઓ વગર તપાસ કરવે પોતાની હિંદુસ્તાનમાં આવી વસ્વાની એક તવારીખ તરીકે માને છે). But there is nothing of that kind in this case. The fact is that *the Parsees have been familiar with the existence of the Kisseh during all these 300 years*. This very fact militates against the suggestion, that it, or any part of it, is imaginary. Had Bahman Kaikobad written an imaginary narrative of their forefathers and concealed it, and had the Kisseh or its story remained in oblivion for 300 years and then been suddenly launched before the present Parsee public, there would have been some justification for the doubt. But that is *not at all* the case. The Kisseh and the history mentioned in it have been all along continuously known to all upto now. Had the Kisseh been imaginary, surely, some other learned Dasturs would have at once written to correct it or to expose it. There is nothing of that sort. (a) Not only is that the case, but the Kisseh, written in 1600 A. D., is embodied in the Collection of the Revayat, compiled by Darab Hormuzdyar and written in (1061 Yazdazardi) 1692 A. D. (b) Dastur Darab Pahlun (1667-1734) makes a copy of it. (c) Anquetil Du Perron, who was at Surat from 1758 to 1760, refers to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, as "a history in verse of the Retreat of the Parsees in India." ("une petite Histoire en vers de la retraite des Perses dans l'Inde" Zend Avesta, Tome I. Partie I, p. 318). Had the narrative given by the Kisseh been wrong, he, who visited India in the century next to that of Bahman Kaikobad, would have heard something to that effect. Not only does he give the narrative, but attaching great importance to this historical narrative of the Parsees, translates it into Latin. The translation is dated "1er Juillet 1759." (M. Blochet's Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale (1900), p. 107). Anquetil refers, in the margin of his book of Zend Avesta, wherein he gives an account of the history of the Parsees based on the Kisseh (Volume I, Partie I pp. 318 et seq), to some old travellers who seem

to support some of the statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. These references suggest the advisability of looking into the accounts of these and other travellers, to see how they support the main fact of the Exodus. (d) Again, we find, that within 165 years after its being written, its historical narrative is, as said above, accepted by a learned Parsee Dastur, Dastur Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1803. This Dastur gives well-nigh the same story in his Kisseh-i-Zarathushtian-i-Hindustan, (*i.e.* An Account of the Zoroastrians of India), written in 1675. (e) In the early part of the last century a copy of it was made by a Dastur of Udvara. If one were to make a search of them, he would find many other old copies of it in some of our public and private libraries. (f) Again, several old manuscripts have been known which refer to the main event of the Exodus and to the subsequent events. Many more can be found if properly searched. (g) Again, not only all this, but further, the historical narrative was often referred to and was told to travellers and others by Parsees, as a correct story. Thus, to show the long continuity of the tradition upto now, and to show that the story of the Kisseh is not suddenly launched among us, the evidence of these subsequent writers is important. Among the long list of European travellers, who give the main fact of the Exodus, there are various travellers and writers of the same century in which Bahman Kaikobad lived and others of subsequent centuries.

There is no traveller, who says that the Gujarat Parsees were the remnants or descendants of the Punjab or Pataliputra, Sind or China Parsees. This fact therefore is very significant. If it is otherwise, it is for you to produce any book or writing, or even an old scrap of paper, to support your vague and inconsistent inferences. We find some difference, here and there, in the name of the place of the early abode. One or two writers name it Surat; another names it Naosari; a third names it Cambay; a fourth names it Gandevée. But that should rather support than weaken the statement of the Kisseh, in as much as it shows, that it was not the Kisseh alone that gave them the account, but the tradition that was commonly known among the people. Those, who narrated the account to the travellers, speaking of their own towns, may have said, that they, the Parsees of those towns, came from Persia. As, in a case in a Court of Law, the fact of all the witnesses giving the same evidence verbatim suggests that they are tutored, so, in this case, exactly similar statements by all travellers may suggest that they all blindly followed one source. Here, the few differences rather prove the truthfulness of the Kisseh in the matter of the main fact, and show, that the old story was generally known all along from century to century upto now. The fact at the bottom of these differences in the statements of these travellers, was, that the main story of the Exodus to the shores of Gujarat, referred to in the Kisseh, was the same and remained true.

(a) I will quote here the words of one of the travellers to explain some differences in the statements of travellers, in the matter of some details, here and there, though, in the matter of the main facts of the Exodus, they all agree. This explanation also applies to some vague statements of the travellers in the matter of some social customs and beliefs—statements which to us appear incorrect. Mr. John Henry Grose, who came to India in 1750, thus speaks on the subject of the information on religion he could obtain on the spot:—“ But then it (information) was only by smatches from persons, whose broken English I could not always be so sure of understanding, as to depend upon my not having mistaken their sense, and less yet when interpreted by them at second hand, from some that could not speak our language at all. Besides, that such as fell in my way, in this pursuit of instruction, were none of them profoundly versed in their religion, being either purely commercial characters, or such as knew little more of it than the vulgar tradition, or the present practice and ritual part of it. Yet even their imperfect accounts, as they turned on a point of such high curiosity, which religion is generally admitted to be, and open into such a wide field of reflection, appeared to be considerable enough for me, not to suppress in them anything that might perhaps throw a further light on this subject. From all the enquiries I could make, it appeared to me, if not clearly, very probable, that there are two distinctions necessary to be made in this religion of the Parsees. The first, the pure one of Zoroaster. . . . The second and more modern one, such as it is at present in

The Cause of some difference in the statements of travellers.

practice among the Parsees of Persia and India, disfigured by various adulterations. Yet notwithstanding this spurious ingraftment, such was still the force of the sap of the original stock, as to hinder the fruit from being intirely spoilt; for by what even to this day appears, it is certain that no morals are purer and more innocent, either in public or private life, than those in general of the Parsees in India at least." ("A Voyage to the East-Indies" by John Henry Grose, 2nd edition of 1772 Vol. I, pp. 213 and 225 ; 1st ed. 1757.)

(b) Capt. Hamilton also refers to the difficulty of properly understanding the people. He says: "One great Misfortune that attends us European Travellers in India, is, the Want of Knowledge of their Languages, and they being so numerous, that one intire century would be too short a Time to learn them all: I could not find one in Ten thousand that could speak intelligible English" ("A New Account of the East Indies," by Capt. A. Hamilton (1744) Vol. I, Preface p. 12). (c) Again, in reading the accounts of these travellers, we must also bear in mind, that, as said by Capt. Hamilton, "Time alters Religions, Customs, Commerce, economy &c. in all Countries" (Ibid. Vol. I, Preface p. 5.)

(d) Again, Prof. Hodiwala's view about these differences is also worth noting. Referring to the difference in dates he says: "There can be little difficulty now in perceiving that almost all these calculators have drawn from a common fountain-head of oral or written tradition, and that the divergences are due to conflicting interpretations of that source, attempts to supply its omissions, real or supposed, and to minor streams of tradition which did not command the same general acquiescence, but which still survived in the minds and memories of small sections of the population. The original stream of tradition, it is needless to say, is found crystallized in the Kissah-i-Sanjan, which in point of time is undoubtedly earlier than many of these old entries, and the discrepancies can be easily accounted for by the ambiguities, obscurities and doubtful readings of Bahman's text" (Journal Iran Ass Vol. II. pp. 322-23).

I will refer now here to some of these subsequent old travellers, who, speaking of the Parsees, say, that they were the descendants of the original refugees from Persia, who had come to India by sea on the downfall of their Sassanian Empire, to save themselves from persecution at the hands of their Arab conquerors. The first five belong to the 17th century, the very century in which Bahman Kaikobad lived, and so, being nearer his times, were in a better position to know, if the story of his Kisseh was imaginary.

Dr. C. Dellon (Born 1649), a French physician, who was in India in about 1667, says :

1. Dr. Dellon about 1667. "There is also in the Indies another sort of People, called Parsis or Perse, descended from the race of the Ancient Persians, who being forced out of their Native Country by the first Mahometans, endeavoured to preserve their lives from the rage of their Enemies by flight. They were toss'd upon the Sea, for a considerable time, and many of them being lost in their Voyage, three of their Vessels came to the Indian shoar, whereof the first set up themselves near Suratte, the second at Dieu, and the third at Gandavy, a Town betwixt Suratte and Daman." (A Voyage to the East Indias, by Monsieur Dellon M. D., Translated from the French, 1698, p. 44).

Sir Streynsham Master (1640-1724), was in India from 1656 to 1682. (For a short account

2. Sir Streynsham Master 1671. of this traveller, vide my Paper, "Bombay, as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754" J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII p. 285)." He says as follows in a letter, headed "A letter from Suratt in India," and dated, "Bombay, January 18, 1671 (New System 1672)": "The Parsees are the antient Inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now Inhabit here abouts fled, at Such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 yeares since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to suffer and undergoe any hardships rather than Submitt to Mahomett and his Followers Imbarqued themselves and their familys in a few slight built vessells of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India. Between Surratt and Daman where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the

Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven took yet this advantage upon them that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not Kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree. . . . They say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogulls grand-father. At the said place of Nausaree their Chief Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country" (The Diary of William Hedges Esq., by Col. H. Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, pp. CCCXV). This traveller was travelling in India only about 50 or 60 years after the date of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. So, had the historical narrative given by the Kisseh been imaginary or untruthful, it could not have spread as correct in so short a time, a well-nigh contemporary time. (Vide Ibid. pp. 222-255 for a sketch of the life of this traveller.)

The fact, that we find in this account some new statements, shows, that the informer of this traveller has not blindly followed the Kisseh, but has given the old story of the Exodus with some differences or additions in details. Sir S. Master's account confirms the Kisseh in the matter of the following events: (a) The Persecution after Arab Conquest. (b) The Emigration to Gujarat *early* after the conquest. (c) The Arrival by sea. (d) The storm at sea, (e) The Welcome by the Hindus. (f) The Imposition of certain conditions. (g) The Consecration of the Sacred Fire shortly after arrival. (h) The Removal of the Fire to Naosaree.

Dr. John Fryer, who landed at Bombay in 1673, in a letter, dated "Bombaim, 1675 Sept. 22," said of the Surat Parsees: "On this side the Water are People of another Off-spring than those we have yet mentioned; these be called Parseys who were made free Denizens by the Indians before the Moors were Masters, and have continued to Inhabit where they first set Footing It is likely these upon the overflow of the Scythians, and their Irruption into Persia, were driven from thence as Fugitives to seek fresh Habitations; which, those furnished with Boats from the Persian Gulf, might easily escape thither; where they complying with some Propositions, as not to Kill any Beasts or living Creatures, and Conform to many of the Gentue Ceremonies, were Entertained and allowed to live among them. . . . These drink Wine, and are of the Race of the Ancient Persians. They Worship the Sun, and keep at Nunsarry, a Delubrium (a temple), where is always a Fire (first kindled by the Sun) kept alive as the Holy Vestal Nuns were wont;" (Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia (1698) p. 117). We see from this passage, that the writer who visited Surat about 75 years after the date of the Kisseh, confirms the following statements of the Kisseh: (a) Gujarat was the land of the first settlement of the Parsees. (b) They came as fugitives. (c) They emigrated *early* after the Arab conquest. (d) They came by sea. (e) They were welcomed by the Indians. (f) They complied with some conditions of the Hindus. (g) They had the first consecrated Sacred Fire at Naosari during the time of his visit. Fryer's Scythians must be taken for Arabs.

Revd. J. Ovington, who was at Surat in 1689, said: "The Persies are a Sect very considerable in India, of whom the Tradition is, that coming from Persia in a Tempest, at the time that Mahomet and his Followers gave Laws to the Persians, (which they were unwilling to submit to) they were driven to that distress, that they almost dispair'd of Life, till hearing a Cock Crow, and espying Fire at Land, they recover'd their hopes of safety, and gain'd a speedy Arrival. . . . These Persies were Transported into India, when Calyf Omar reduc'd the Kingdom of Persia under the power of the Mahometans." (A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689, by Ovington, (1696) pp. 370-74 and 374). This traveller, who came to India in the same century, in which the author of the Kisseh lived, confirms the following statements of the Kisseh: (a) Exodus owing to religious persecution. (b) Exodus, *early* after the Mahomedan conquest. (c) Arrival by sea. (d) A storm overtaking them while at sea.

Sieur De Rennefort, in his History of the East Indies, while speaking of "the City of Suratte in the Kingdom of Guzuratte, under the Jurisdiction of the Great Mogul," said: "There are among the other several Sects of the Pagans, some who call themselves Persis, who being descended from the race of the Ancient Persians, that were driven from their native Country by the Mahometans, do in Imitation of their Ancestors, Adore the Fire to this day" (A Supplement to the Sieur Dellon's Relation of his Voyage to the East Indies, taken out of the Sieur de Rennefort's History of the East Indies 1698, p. 22).

Now we come to some well-known travellers and writers of the 18th century. Hamilton who came to Surat in 1716 said: "The Parsees are numerous about Surat and the adjacent Countries. They are a Remnant of the ancient Persians, who rather choose to be banished their Country than change their Religion; for in the seventh Century of the Christian Æra, when Mahometism over-ran Persia, the Spirit of Persecution came there, and some 4 or 500 Families were put on board of Shipping, and sent to Sea, without Compass or Pilot; and they steering their Course Eastward (in the Southwest Monsoons) from Jasques, in about 20 days, fell in with the Coast of India in the Night, and the first thing they saw was a Fire ashore, which the Exiles steered towards, and accidentally steered into the River of Nunsaree When they came ashore, the charitable Indians flocked about them, and there being some among them that could speak some Indian Languages, related what hard Usage they had met with in their own Country, and that Providence having directed them to the Indian Country, they begged Leave to settle among them, and by their Behaviour they would show their Gratitude for relieving distressed Strangers, who were then become their Supplicants. The generous Indians granted their Request and there they settled first, and remain in and about that Country to this Day. (Capt. Alexander Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," (1744), Vol. I. p. 159). As to the source or sources from which Hamilton derived his information on the subject of the Parsees and others, he says: "What knowledge I have acquired or gathered is from the much Converse I had with the Natives of the respective Countries I travelled in, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with the Religions, Laws and Customs of their Neighbours" (Ibid. Preface pp. 11-12). Hamilton had come to Surat from Persia in 1716 (Ibid. p. 106).

Thus, Capt. Hamilton, who visited Surat about 100 years after the date of the Kisseh, confirms a number of Bahman Kaikobad's statements, viz (a) The Exodus, the result of Persecution, (b) The Exodus, early after the Mahometan conquest, (c) and that by sea, (d) The Indians welcomed the exiles on hearing their case as explained by some of them. (e) The Parsees of his (Hamilton's) time were the descendants of those first comers.

There were published at Amsterdam from 1723-1743, eleven volumes of "Cérémonies et Coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du Monde, illustrated by Bernard Picart" (1673-1733). In Volume IV, Part II, the author thus speaks of the Parsees:

"The Persians, who are the Subject of this present Dissertation, have inviolably preserv'd the religion of the ancient Magi, without the least Intermixture of any of the Rites and Ceremonies, either of the Mahometans, or the Indians, amongst whom they are promiscuously scatter'd and dispers'd. They contract no Alliance, neither have they any farther Intercourse with them, than what their Trade, and Transactions of necessary Affairs unavoidably require. The defeat of Yesdezerd, the last Persian Monarch who profest the Religion of the Magi, by the prevailing power of the Mahometan Caliphs, is the Epocha, or Period of their Dispersion, and the total Overthrow of their religious worship in Persia. After these new Victors had brought that Monarchy in Subjection to their Laws, they resolv'd likewise, Sword-in-Hand, to triumph over, and enslave the Consciences of their Captives. Such as would not submit to these formidable Missionaries, forsook their native Country, and settled in the Indies. The Mahometans branded these Persians with the ignominious Title of Gaures and Guebres, the

etymological sense whereof is Infidels, or Unbelievers. The Gaures are at present dispersed almost all over Persia, but are more numerous in the Province of Kirman, than any other Place; and as that Part is the worst, and most barren Soil in all Persia, the Mahometans, having no Inclination to reside there themselves, suffer the Gaures to settle there, and indulge them in the free Exercise of their Religion without the least Hindrance or Molestation. In all other Parts, the Persians who are Mahometans, treat them with all the marks of Ignominy and Contempt. The Humility and Patience of these Gaures under their galling Yoke, is as we are inform'd, very singular and remarkable." (The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Idolatrous Nations, together with Historical Annotations. Written originally in French and illustrated by Bernard Picart, Vol. IV. Part II, translated into English by a Gentleman of St. John's College, (1733), pp. 393-94.)

M. L'Abbé Guyon, has written a short History of the East Indies in 3 volumes in 1744, based on the work of various authors, of whom he gives a long list in 8. Abbé Guyon, 1744. the beginning of the first volume. Therein, he thus speaks of the Parsees: "Besides the Banyas (Benjans), there is another class of Pagans in the kingdom of Gujarat, whom they name Parsees. They are originally Persians who retired here in the seventh century, when Aboubeker, the first Caliph, undertook to establish among them the religion of Mohomet. The Prince, who then ruled over Persia and Khorasan, seeing that it was impossible for him to oppose him (the Caliph), embarked with 18,000 men at Ormuz and went to India. The king of Cambay, pagan like himself, received him, permitted him to remain in his kingdom and to live as he liked. This liberty of faith attracted there a large number of Persians who came there century after century out of horror for Mahometanism and they have preserved their manners and their religion. The hate which the Mahometans have for them is irreconcilable, and it was from this motive, that Tamerlane, when he made himself master of India, got massacred a very large number of Guebres who were the same as Parsis" (I translate from "Histoire des Indes Orientales, Anciennes et Modernes," by L'Abbé Guyon, Vol. II (1744) pp. 283-84).

John Henry Grose, who was in India in 1750 said: "The manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat, are chiefly carried on by the industry of the Parsees, or the race of Persian refugees, who, some centuries ago, fled from the face of the Mahometan persecution, then invaders and conquerors of the Persian dominions. They were brought to these parts where they and their race have ever since continued, in three vessels, in which they embarked with the utmost precipitation and confusion, and committed themselves to the wind and weather, to be carried into whatever country would receive them. By tradition, and according to all probability, as being the most obnoxious to the conquerors, there were among them some of the principal men of the country. Nowrojee-Rustomjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerdes, a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas, was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was, when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoos inhabitants, who compassionated their distress and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them. I know there are several fabulous traditions of these refugees having landed where they first saw a fire, which they looked on as a propitious landmark to them, and that the Gentoos made a covenant with them, that they should conform to their customs, especially as to their abstaining from all animal food. But I never could learn, that these points of their history were attested by any authentic testimonials, or credited by the principal persons among them. The sole article of any consequence imposed on them was, that they should not kill any cows, or beasts of that species, which the Parsees their descendants to this day avoid, as looking upon themselves to be bound and concluded by the agreement of their ancestors. . . . They

also, in many other respects, adopted the manners and customs of the Gentoos, rather from imitation than any necessity; though otherwise they have kept their race unmixed. The wretched remnant of the Parsees who staid behind in Persia, and weathered out the storm, acknowledge these Parsees for their brethren. . . . The truth is, that the Guzarat-Parsees seem to have entirely forgot their original country; and from a long habituation, continued through so many generations, to consider India as their proper country; even though from the laws of it, admitting no mixture by proselytism, or intermarriage, they must for ever remain a stranger race." (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, by John Henry Grose, 2nd edition of 1772, Vol. I, pp. 123-25. The 1st edition was published in 1757.)

Mr. Grose's account is important from several points of view. He refers to, what he calls, "several fabulous traditions," alluded to by several travellers as "points of their history" not "attested by any authentic testimonials, or credited by the principal persons among them" and rejects them. He says, that the principal Parsees themselves did not believe any fabulous stories, but believed in the main facts of the Exodus. He accepts (a) the main historical fact of the Exodus, (b) the fact of the persecution by the new occupants of Persia, (c) the arrival by the sea route (d) and that early after the Arab conquests (e) and the hospitable welcome by the Hindoos.

There is one other statement of this author, which draws our special attention. Mr. Nadirsha argues, and you, following him, seem to suggest: "When a large number of Zoroastrians are said to have remained in Persia according to Maçoudi and others, why should a few come to India?" Mr. Grose's statement is a reply to this. There were Zoroastrians who were "the most obnoxious to the conquerors"; and among them "there were some of the principal men of the country". They were, like those Independents, the Pilgrim Fathers, who fled to America, so resolute-minded, that they could submit to no compulsion in matters of religion from their conquerors. So, they left their fatherland. They did well and we know the result. We have multiplied to a hundred thousand and flourished, while "the wretched remnant of the Parsees who stayed behind in Persia," have dwindled into a poor few thousands.

Karsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), who had started for a voyage to Arabia from Copenhagen, on 4th January 1761, had arrived in India and landed at Bombay on 13th September 1763. In his account of Bombay, he refers to Parsees as "Persians from Kerman" (*John Pinkerton's General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels* (1811), Vol. X, Chap. 146 p. 202.). Further on, he thus speaks of the Parsees:

"At Bombay, at Surat, and in the vicinity of these cities, is a colony of ancient Persians, who took refuge in India, when their country was conquered by the Mahometan Arabs, eleven centuries since. They are called Persees. Being beloved by the Hindus, they multiply exceedingly; whereas their countrymen in the province of Kerman, are visibly diminishing under the yoke of the Moslem Persians" (*Ibid* p. 220). Please note, that Niebuhr is spoken of as "an accurate and careful observer." "He had the instincts of the scholar, was animated by a high moral purpose, and was rigorously conscientious and anxiously truthful in recording the result of his observation. His works have long been classical." (*Encyclopædia Britannica* XVII p. 493, 9th ed.). He had also travelled in Persia. A traveller and scholar like him confirms, in the above passage, various facts mentioned in the Kisseh.

Mr. James Forbes, who had come to Bombay in 1766 and had stayed here for 18 years, devotes in his well-known *Oriental Memoirs*, a chapter (Chap. VI, Vol. I, p. 109) to the Parsees, and heads it as "The Emigration of the Parsees, the disciples of Zoroaster and the Ancient Magi from Persia; and their Establishment in Hindostan." He thus begins the chapter:—

"The Parsees, or Guebres, are a people whom the Mahomedan persecutions drove from Persia, their native country, in the eighth century of the Christian æra. They are descended from the ancient Persians. . . . While the Mahomedan religion was established in Persia

under the system of terror, these people emigrated to the isle of Ormuz, and continued there fifteen years; they then embarked in small vessels for India. . . . After a dreadful voyage, they landed at Diu, on the south-west point of the Cambay gulph. . . . They continued at this place for some time, and then crossing the gulph, landed at Suzan, near Nunsarrée. . . . Here these unhappy Persians implored the protection of the Hindoo rajah. . . . He (the rajah) granted them permission to settle in his dominions, and to build a temple for their sacred fire, on their compliance with certain conditions. . . . As their families increased, the Parsees dispersed and settled at Bombay, Surat, Baroche, and other northern towns on the western coast of India." (Oriental Memoirs by James Forbes (1813) Vol. I. pp. 109-10). In another place also, Forbes speaks of the Parsees of Surat as "Persian emigrants" and as "sprung from the few families who emigrated thither for the preservation of religious liberty." (Ibid. Vol. III p. 411).

John Splinter Stavorinus, who was at Surat in about 1777, said: "The third people, or nation, who help to form the body of inhabitants at Surat, are the Persians, or Persees. These descendants of the ancient Persians, those well-known enemies of Greece, and benefactors of the Jewish people, known for many ages by the name of Guebres, or Gaives, and likewise by the appellation of Atech Perest, or worshippers of fire, abandoned their country upon the conquest of it by the Caliph Omar. . . . As the conqueror forced all his new subjects to embrace the Mahomedan creed and persecuted with fire and sword those who refused to abandon the religion of their forefathers, some of them fled to the most distant parts of the province of Carmania. . . . A great portion, however, abandoned their country, in the year 636, and fled for refuge to Hindostan, resorting more particularly to the neighbourhood of Surat, where they obtained permission to settle from the Hindoos, and to exercise their religion without restraint. . . . They, however, marry no more than one woman at the same time, and never any one but of their own nation, so that they have preserved their race, through so many ages, pure and unmixed with other nations, to the present day." (Voyages to the East Indies, by John Splinter Stavorinus, translated from the original Dutch, by Samuel Hull Wilcocke, (1798) Vol. II, p. 492-93, 496). This Dutch traveller thus confirms all the main features of the Exodus.

13. Gibbon 1787. Gibbon (1737-94), thus refers to the story of the persecution, flight to Kohistan, and the Exodus to Gujarat:—

"In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat and in the colony which, in the last century, was planted by Shah Abbas at the gates of Ispahan" (The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Edition of 1844, Vol. III p. 499). Gibbon is well-known as a historian. He wrote his well-known work after studying various authorities. He had not come to India; so, he cannot be said to have merely described what he heard from the Parsees.

Captain Little wrote in 1794: "An enquiry into the history and customs of the Parsees, would, we think, be curious. Their history commences at the period of the troubles caused by the Saracen conquerors of Persia when persecuted for their religious opinions, a few Persians took refuge in the Isle of Ormus whence, some time after, they sailed for India, and landed in Gudjarat, where they found an asylum, on condition that they should reveal the mysteries of their creed, should renounce their own language and dress, that their women should go abroad unveiled and their nuptials be celebrated in the evening" (A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment etc., by Lieut. E. Moore (1794) Note II. p. 383).

Now we come to the travellers of the 19th century. Some of them had visited both Persia and India and were well-known as oriental scholars.

Georga Viscount Valentia, a known traveller, speaking of Bombay in 1804, says: "The greater proportion of the inhabitants of Bombay are Parsees, descendants of the ancient Persians, who fled from the persecution of Shah Abbas, who in the sixteenth century destroyed the temples which had till then remained in the mountain Albend, and drove the worshippers of fire to seek an asylum in other countries." (Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea &c. (1809) Vol. II, p. 186). The mention of the name of Shah Abbas is a mistake. But such mistakes in names should not go against the truthfulness of the main event of the Exodus. Such small differences rather tend to show, that there is no blind attempt to follow one source or authority, and that the authority for the main event is unimpeached.

15. Valentia 1804.

16. Wilford 1807

Capt. Wilford said in 1807: "That several emigrations from Persia took place, at different periods, in consequence of the fanatic zeal of the Muslemans, and their persecuting spirit, cannot be doubted; but the emigration of the children of Nushirvân is the most ancient. Some of these emigrants retained their ancient religion, and are called Parsis" (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX. p. 233).

17. Sir James Mackintosh 1808.

Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), the founder of our Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society and the Recorder of Bombay, in a Judgment in a case, said in 1808: "The Parsees are a small remnant of one of the mightiest nations of the ancient world, who, flying from persecution into India, were for many ages lost in obscurity and poverty, till at length they met a just government under which they speedily rose to be one of the most opulent mercantile bodies in Asia. In this point of view, I consider their prosperity with some national pride. I view their wealth as a monument of our justice . . . They have preserved the activity of their minds and the vigour of their bodies during a residence of a thousand years in India" (Quoted in the Parsee Prakash I, p. 886, from the Bombay Courier of 20th August, 1808). Sir James Mackintosh was not an ordinary traveller or writer. He had attracted the pen of Macaulay. He was undoubtedly "one of the most cultured and catholic minded men of his time." A man of judicial mind like him, would not have spoken, as he has done, of the ancestry of the Indian Parsees and of the time and cause of their emigration here, had the tradition recorded in the Kisseh been the least suspected to be imaginary. He very properly viewed "with some national pride," the wealth of the Parsees as "a monument of British Justice." The "Monument" that we are going to raise at Sanjan, will, besides commemorating the great event of the early migration of our forefathers, stand as a monument of pride for our community, whose ancestors suffered for the cause of liberty and sacrificed their all for the sake of religion. It will also stand as a monument of Hindu Hospitality and of British Justice referred to by Mackintosh, for which many an Englishman may justly be proud. It is a pity, that you have not looked to weightier views of a number of learned men like Sir James Mackintosh, but have thought it advisable to raise your cudgels on the side of a single hasty writer.

18. Maria Graham on the authority of Moola Feroze 1809.

Maria Graham visited India from 1809 to 1811, and was in Bombay in 1809. What she says in her Journal is important from one point of view. You seem to attach some importance to the fact of Mr. Nadirsha's travels in Persia. His experience, however valuable in itself, may be taken as that of a globe-trotter, as he did not live long in Persia. But Moola Feroze (1758-1830), the learned Dastur of the Kadmis in the early part of the last century, had lived for twelve years in Persia. So, his view on the subject of the Exodus should be much more entitled to our acceptance than that of Mr. Nadirsha. Now, this lady says, that on 20th November 1809, she was "one of a party assembled for the purpose of hearing from the Dustoor Moola Feroze an account of the actual state of the Guebres or Parsees in India." (Journal of a Residence in India by Maria Graham (1813) p. 36). She gives some account of the Parsees and thus speaks of her authority: "I have taken some pains to collect what information I could concerning them (i.e. the Parsees), both from Moola

Firoze, and other individuals of the nation." (Ibid p. 37). On the strength of what she had learnt from such an authority as Moola Firoze, who was long in Persia, she thus speaks of the Parsees: "When the Guebres were driven from their own country by the Mussulmans, a considerable body of them resolved to seek a new land, and accordingly put to sea, where they suffered great hardships. After attempting to settle in various places, they at length reached Sunjum in Guzerat, and sent their chief dustoor, Abah on shore, to ask an asylum. This was granted by the Rajah on certain conditions" (Ibid. p. 40).

Sir William Ousley, who had stayed for three years in Persia, as Secretary to Sir Gore Ousley, the Ambassador at the court of Persia, and whose book of travels is well-known, thus speaks of the Indian Parsees:—"They have adopted much from those whose country affords them protection against Mahomedan persecution; they still retain the religion of their Persian ancestors". (Travels in Persia (1819) Vol. I pp. 100-101). . . . "Such (the ancient Persians) were the ancestors of those denominated in India, Parsees from their original country Pars, and by their oppressor the Mahomedans of Persia, styled contemptuously Gabrs" (Ibid. p. 105).

Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833) who was a well-known Governor of Bombay, who was known both as a traveller and historian, who had travelled both in Persia and in India, and who had come into contact with the Parsees both of Persia and India, speaks of the Parsees as "the descendents of the ancient Persians settled in Guzerat and Bombay, of the purity of whose blood there can be no doubt, as they never intermarry with other races" and as having "a residence of *eleven* centuries." (History of Persia, 2nd Edition of 1829. Vol. I. p. 555). Much importance is due to the opinion of Sir John Malcolm who is well-known for his History of Persia (1815.) He had begun his study of Persian at a very early age before he was twenty-one when he was still known as Boy-Malcolm. He was appointed Persian interpreter at Seringapatam (1793) at the early age of 24. He had also begun, as it were, to be a historian from a very young age. "He seems to have begun not only to reflect, but to record his reflections upon the interesting events which were passing before him" (John William Kaye's Life of Sir John Malcolm (1856) Vol. I, p. 20). He had gone to Persia as an ambassador on three occasions. His missions in 1800 and 1810 were very successful. It was thought that the French under Napoleon wanted to invade India. His embassies were intended to provide against that emergency. He had made himself famous in Mysore, before, and after, the siege of Seringapatam. Afterwards, he had gone to the north and then returned to Mysore in about 1807. He came to Bombay from there in 1808, when he was sent on an expedition to Persia, but owing to the state of politics in Tehran at the time, he had to return without doing much. His second successful mission was in 1810. On returning from the second successful mission, he took to literary work and thought of writing a history of Persia. Lord Minto recommended him to stay at Bombay for that purpose. "The work in which you are engaged," wrote Lord Minto, "must be carried on with more facility and advantage at Bombay, where you have no other occupation, and where you will probably still be surrounded by gentlemen who have had a share in collecting your materials, and are conversant with the subject" (Ibid Vol, II, p. 60). I think, that one of the gentlemen referred to, was Dastur Moola Feroze. Malcolm published his History of Persia in 1815. He was Governor of Bombay from 1827 to 1830. Among several other works of historical importance, he was the author of "Sketches of Persia" and the History of Persia.

I have given here some events and dates of Sir John Malcolm's life, in order to enable my readers to understand clearly, what I say below, on the authority of what is said in the preamble of one of Dastur Moola Feroze's writings on the subject, wherein, among other things, he speaks of the Exodus from Persia. I have not been able to find a copy of his original writing in Persian, which must have passed into the hands of Malcolm. A Gujarati translation of that writing, which was originally written for Malcolm is fortunately available. This translation is from the pen of the late Ervad Dosabhoj Munshi.

well-known to many civilians of the middle of the last century as a competent Persian Munshi. This Translation exists in a manuscript belonging to Ervad Manockji R. Unwala. My attention has been drawn to it by the manuscript collection of the colophons of old books and documents prepared by Ervad Nusserwanji Burjorji Desai at the instance of the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet. I give the preface of Moola Firoze's small work, as given by Ervad Dosabhoy Munshi in Gujarati with a Foreword from himself. Mr. Munshi's Foreword runs as follows.

એ કેતાબ કદીમ નામાંની ઇઆને આગલા લોકોનાં અહેવાલ તથા ગઈઓમરદ અગાઉ ને બહી દીનનાં ખૂબરો થાઈ ગીઆ છે, તે લોકોના અહેવાલની તથા જરતુરાત પેમાંખર શાહેબનાં જનમની તારીખ વારની તથા ને એહેદીનો ઇરાનથી વતન મેથી હીંદોશતાંન માંહાં આવેઆ તે ખીના વગરે ને કાંઈ એહેદીનાને પોતાની દીન-આઈનને રામજબું જરર છે, તે મુબેદ દોશા મૂતસીએ નેહે પરમાંણુ કે મૂલાં શીરિજ ખીન કાઉસે ફારસી માંહાં જારલ મલકમને વારતે લખી હતી તે માફકે હીંદવીમાં તરજમા કરી ઉતારી છે. અંદરે મુબઈ. (૧૧૭૯) ઇઆજરદી.

The Preface of Dastur Moola Firoze runs as follows,

• દીઆઓ કેતાબનો ૦

દાંનાવ લોકોનાં હેલ ઉપર જાહેર થાએ ને રાને ઇરાઈ ૧૮૦૮ તથા હેજરી ૧૨૨૩ નાં શાલ માંહે દોલત તથા ખૂબરગી તથા એકબાલનો શાહેબ નેક ખરાલતનો મુબારક ખૂનીઆદનો જનરલ જન મલકમ બાહાદુર નેહેવારે રારંગપટનના મૂલકથી ઇરાનના પાદશાહ ફતેહે અલી શાહ કાબરની એલચી-ગરીનો કશદ રાખીને શ્રી મુબઈ અંદર માંહાં આવેઆ તેહેવાર કમતરીન નાદાંન અને નાફીમ શીરિજ ખીન મૂલાં કાઉરા એટલા વારતે ને આગલી એલખાંણુ તથા અંદગી તે શાયે રાખતો હતો, તેથી તેહેની ખરકત બરેલી એદમત માંહાં જાઈ પોહોચેઆ; તેહેવારે મલકમ બાહાદુરે ઘહણીએક મેહેરખાંનીથી પરથમ ઇરાંની તથા પારશી લોકોનો જાહેર થાવાનો એહેવાલ અને પાદશાહી અને મીને દોલત જવાની હકીકત અને કેટલાએક લોકો ને વતનથી એ વતન થાઈ હીંદોશતાંન માંહાં આવેઆ એ રારવે ખીનાં પૂછી, ને ઘહણી એક આહેશથી હોકમ કીવો ને એ રારવે હકીકતને આરાંન એઆરત માંહાં ઘહતુ મુખતશર કરીને કેટલાએક રાતર લખે તેહેના હોકમથી આગલી ફારસી કેતાબો માંહેથી કેટલાએક રાતરે લખી છે અને ઉમેદ એ રાખ્યને તમાંમ દાંનાએ લોકોની નજરમાં કચુલ થાએ

We learn from this preface that Moola Firoze was known to Malcolm and that he had an interview with him when he (Malcolm) came to Bombay in 1808 from Mysore, to go to Persia as an ambassador to the Court of Fateh Ali Shah, the King of Persia. During that interview, Malcolm asked Moola Firoze to prepare a very short account of the history of the Parsees from the very beginning upto the time when they left their fatherland and came to Hindustan. Moola Firoze acted accordingly, and the small Gujarati manuscript in the possession of Ervad M. R. Unwala is Ervad Dosabhoy Munshi's translation (1810) of the original Persian. In this small book of 1808, Moola Firoze gives, at the end, a short outline of the Exodus on the authority of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. Thus, we find, that a well-known scholar like Moola Firoze, who had read much and who had stayed in Persia for about 12 years, took the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, which he names in his book, as a historical book.

Mark what Malcolm himself says in his history: "I have studied perspicuity, I have sought truth; and my opinions, which are invariably expressed with freedom, may, perhaps, have some value, from being those of a man whose only lessons have been learned in the school of experience."

Thus the opinion of Malcolm on the subject of the Exodus is entitled to great weight, both, from the fact of having come from the pen of a great truthful writer and traveller of experience, and from the fact of his being helped by a great scholar and traveller like Moola Firoze, who had long been in Persia. Please compare the literary merits and experience of Malcolm and Moola Firoze with those of your sole authority, Mr. Nadirsha, and you will soon find a great difference.

I need not quote here in full the abridged account of the Exodus (folios 57-63) and its events given by Moola Firoze, but simply say, that he describes shortly all the events referred to in the Kisseh and speaks of the Sultan who invaded Sanjan as Mahumad Begada. He also gives the dates of the reign of this Sultan, which Bahman Kaikobad does not give. This shows, that Moola Firoze did not choose simply to follow Bahman Kaikobad but also to verify his statements and make further inquiries.

Mr. William Marsden (1754-1836), in his Marco Polo, refers to Barbosa's travels, and speaking of the merchants in Malabar, referred to by this traveller, says that they
 21. Marsden 1818. "were Parsis, as we have been accustomed to call those natives of Persia and their descendants, who, on account of their adherence, to the religion of their ancestors . . . were driven from their own country, by the Mahometan." (The Travels of Marco Polo by William Marsden, 1818, p. 690).

Henry George Briggs, author of the Cities of Gujarâshtra, who was specially "asked to furnish some information in a collected form regarding the Parsis" says :
 22. Briggs 1852. "Such as would not embrace the faith of the conquerors either fled to the wild fastnesses of the Khurassân mountains, or betook themselves to the still more desolate plains of their father-land, About a half a century afterwards a considerable number sought safety in flight from the persecutions of the new lords of their country. With this purpose they proceeded first to the island of Hormazd, or Ormus, in the Persian Gulf; after a stay of fifteen years they made way to Diva or Diu, at the South-eastern extremity of the Katiwad peninsula. . . ." (The Parsis or Modern Zerdushthians, by Henry George Briggs p. 7).

In Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, Minister of the United States of America in Persia in 1882-83, we have a recent authority of reputation, who stayed in Persia and so
 23. Benjamin 1882. had an opportunity to find, whether the fact of the Exodus of the Parsis to India under persecution was imaginary. He says : "They (the fire-worshippers) are called Guebres . . . but they should properly be called Parsees, a term that is still applied to those fire-worshippers who, flying from persecution, established themselves at Bombay." (Persia and the Persians by S. G. W. Benjamin) (1887) pp. 130-31). In another place, Mr. Benjamin says: "When the Arabs burning with religious zeal, carried the doctrines of Mahomet into Persia, and forced the acceptance of the Koran at the point of the sword, that country abandoned the so-called worship of fire and the principles taught by Zerdusht or Zoroaster. The fire-worshippers who survived were mostly driven out of the country by persecution, and became the Parsees of India" (Ibid. p. 356). This Minister had not come to India, but had stayed for two years in Persia. So, what he says may be attributed, not to anything he had heard in India, but to his own study and to what he learnt in Persia itself.

Conclusions to be drawn from the accounts of these travellers.

The above extracts from writers and travellers of the earlier centuries and of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries lead us to the following conclusions :

(a) It is not the Parsees of the 19th or the 20th Century who have suddenly learnt something new about their early ancestors in India from a Persian book, the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. The history given by the Kisseh was known *long before* it was written and has been continuously known *since*. (b) There was a genuine old tradition of the main fact of an early exodus from Persia by sea after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. (c) The early travellers and writers, some of them the predecessors of, and some the very contemporaries of the generation of, or the generation next to, Bahaman Kaikobad who wrote the Kisseh, heard the main facts of the tradition as recorded in the Kisseh from the lips of the Parsees of India, who would not have mentioned them had they been merely imaginary.

The narrative of the Kisseh (1600 A. D.) has not come to light suddenly after a lapse of 317 years, but was all along known by the Parsees of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries as

by those of the preceding centuries. It was known to, and recorded by, later Dasturs like Darab Hormuzdyâr (1679), Darab Pahlun (1667-1734), Darab Manock Pahlun (1750) and Shapurjee Sanjana (1765), and it was also recorded by Anquetil du Perron (1761). One fact or another of the narrative, connected with the persecution or the Exodus, was known even before the time of the Kisseh (1600) and is mentioned by writers like Al Bilâduri (850 A.D.), Maçoudi (916), Yaqout (about 1210), Dastur Hamajiar Ram (1516), Garcia, da Orta (1534), Abu Fazl (1598). It was known to old travellers and writers of the 17th century like Terry (1615), Henry Lord (1621), Sir Thomas Herbert (1626), Jean Mandelslo (1638), Niccolao Manucci (1656), Dr. Dellon (1667), Streynsham Master (1671), Dr. John Fryer (1675), Ovington (1689), and Remefort (1698), and to a number of travellers of the 18th century. It is a narrative, believed in and referred to, by historians like Gibbon and Malcolm, and by later or modern oriental scholars and writers like Niebuhr, Wilford, Mackintosh, Moola Firoze, Briggs, Ousley, Max Muller, Monier Williams and a number of others. As opposed to these numerous writers, both travellers and scholars, and some of them well-known historians, there appears for the first time in the twentieth century, your authority, Mr. Nadirshah, who first said, that the Kisseh was "wholly imaginary," and then, within a few years, was toned down to say, that it is "mostly imaginary."

The one defect in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, if defect it can be called, is that in the matter of dates. The author has not given the dates of the different events as we give them now, but has simply said, that such an event happened so many years *after* such an event. For example, he says, that the ancestors of the band of Parsees who landed in Sanjan remained in Khorassan for 100 years, and then at Hormuz for 15 years and then at Diu for 19 years and so on. Now, one may find this somewhat indefinite. From what event is he to count 100 years? from the battle of Nehâvand, where the Persians had a great defeat at the hand of the Arabs, or from the death of Yazdazard who lived for some years after that event? The question is: What can be called the date of the downfall of the Sassanian Empire, the last battle or the death of the Emperor? This defect in the matter of chronology does not seem to be the result of any ignorance on the part of the author, but is rather the result of the faulty system adopted. But, as far as the erection of the column and inscription are concerned, this is a small matter, because we have studiously avoided doubtful points and we have given no dates.

In spite of this pardonable defect—a defect rather of the system than of the author—those who have judged of the Kisseh without any prejudice, have formed a good opinion about its historical value. (a) Anquetil Du Perron speaks of it as "a small History in verse of the Retreat of the Parsis in India" ("Une petite Histoire en vers de la retraite des Perses dans l'Inde." Zend Avesta Tome I Partie I. p. CCCXVIII). Taking it as historical, he bases on it his abridged account of the Parsees in India. (b) Mr. John Romer speaks of it as "their only historical work extant" (J. R. A. S. IV. (1837) p. 359). (c) Dr. Wilson, in his Introduction to his sermon to the Parsees (The Doctrine of Jehovah addressed to the Pârsis (1839), Third Edition 1847 p. 5), speaks of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as one of "the accounts which are most worthy of credit." In another place, he speaks of it as "the most important of the very meagre accounts possessed by the Pârsis of the settlement of their forefathers in this country" (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. I (1844) p. 167). In other places, he speaks of it, as a "Historical tract" (Ibid. p. 175 n. 2) and as "the principal document in the hands of the Parsis detailing the particulars of the arrival of their ancestors in India (The Parsi Religion (1843) p. 210). (d) Sir James Campbell also looked to the Kisseh as a historical document and even tried to identify the Jadi Rana referred to in it (Bombay Gazetteer XIII, Pt. I. p. 250.) (e) Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, who has studied well some of the questions of the early history of the Parsees and has thrown good light upon them, speaks of the Kisseh, as "the only source of our knowledge of the early history of the Indian Parsis" (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIII p. 349). Tracing the word Silhâra, in the Kisseh, he says: "I regard the absolutely unconscious preservation of the name by Parsi tradition and

the unexpected confirmation of Bahman's statements by Hindu inscriptions as the most convincing proof hitherto discovered of their resting on a nucleus, of, not only genuine old tradition, but perhaps, of very old written memoranda". (Ibid. p. 362). Again, he speaks of "Bahaman's statement, that Mahmûd Begadâ's sack of Sanjân took place about five hundred years or a little more after the landing," as one which "perfectly harmonizes with historical facts".

XII.

TRUTHFULNESS OF THE VARIOUS EVENTS, OTHER THAN THE MAIN EVENT OF THE EXODUS, MENTIONED IN THE KISSEH-I-SANJAN.

Having dealt at some length, on the evidence in general, on the main fact of the Exodus, I will speak briefly on the evidence which supports the Kisseh's statements about other events connected with the main subject.

(a) The History of Tabaristan supplies us with some important evidence on the subject of the Retreat into Kohistan. Professor Rehatsek has given us a good paper on the subject under the title of "The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sassanian dynasty" (Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XI, pp. 147-218). He rests for his materials upon Tabari, Mirkhond and Ibn Khaldûn. All the materials he had to work upon were, as he says, one-sided, *i. e.*, representing mostly the Mahomedan view. Even resting on these materials, Prof. Rehatsek says: "The complete subjugation of the vast extent of the Persian monarchy took place only by degrees, and revolts now and then still took place, but were suppressed without very great difficulty, as no extensive organizations or ramifications of them among the various districts were possible. These insurrections were frequent enough upto the death of Khalif Sulaimân B. A'bd-al-Malek which took place A. H. 99 (717-18 A. D.). The last great effort of the Persians to recover their ancient independence occurred also *in the 8th century* of our era. . . . Sinbad the Zoroastrian, an influential inhabitant of Nishapur, raised the standard of revolt The battle which took place was decisive. Sinbad was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tabaristan The total number of those who lost their lives is stated to have amounted to 70,000." (Ibid. pp. 217-18).

(b) In connection with this paper, one may read with advantage Prof. Rehatsek's other paper on "The Bâw and Gâobârah Sefhabuds along the southern Caspian Shores" (Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XII, p. 410-45). This paper "treated of the Sefhabuds of Mâzanderân and Tabaristân, and touched upon the subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sefhabuds of the Bâw and Gâobârah dynasty are concerned" (Ibid. p. XXII). Prof. Rehatsek gives, in this paper, a short history of some of the Zoroastrian principalities existing in the mountainous districts after the downfall of Yazdazard. "The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist . . . and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah Sefhabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kôhestân or mountain region,' must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks, and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzandarân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors" (Ibid pp. 410-11). Prof. Rehatsek gives his account of the above two Zoroastrian dynasties, on the authority of (1) The Târikh of Tabaristân, Ruyân and Mazanderân of Sayyid Zahir-al-dyn, (2) The Rozat-us-Safâ of Mirkhond, and (3) the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badaoni. He says, that "down to the end of the Ommiad dynasty (A. D. 749 A. H. 132), no Arabs invaded Tabaristan" (Ibid p. 442). The real Arab invasion in this district of the Zoroastrian Gâobârah Sefhabuds began in about 749 A. D. and continued in the reign of Khalif Mançur (A. D. 754 to 775).

In connection with the above history of these Zoroastrian principalities after Yazdazard, we notice, that the district referred to is Kohistân. The Kisseh-i-Sanjân also speaks of the

Parsee settlers coming from Kohistân in Khorassan. After staying for 5 years at Sanjan, they sent for some religious requisities to Khorâsân.

∞ (c) In the matter of these Zoroastrian principalities of Tabaristan, Prof. Nöldeke says: "A fragment of the Sâsânian empire lasted for a considerable time in the mountains of Tabaristân (Mâzandarân), to which the hereditary generals (Spâhpat, Ispehbedh) of *Khorassan*, of the house of Karen, withdrew, and where they reigned for *over a hundred years*, though sometimes paying tribute to the caliphs. They remained faithful to Zoroastrianism, and apparently viewed themselves as direct successors of Yazdegerd, since the era employed on their coins, seems to have his death as its epoch" (Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. XVIII, p. 616. Article 'Persia').

Now what do these extracts from Rehatsek's historical papers, based on historical Mahomedan works, say? They confirm the following statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan in connection with the very first historical event named in it.

1. For about one *hundred* years after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire of Yazdazard, Zoroastrians lived in Kohistân in Khorassan; and there also flourished then some Zoroastrian principalities, the rulers of which had even coined their money. According to the coins of these Zoroastrian Sepahbuds, for the date of the main event *viz.*, the downfall, one must take the date of the death of Yazdazard *viz.* 651 A. D. (For a coin of King Khurshid of the Giobârah Sephabuds, vide E. Thomas's "Comments on Recent Pehlvi decipherments" (1872) p. 48).

2. It was in 749, *i. e.*, about 98 years after the above date of the downfall of the Empire, that this part of Persia began to be invaded by the Arabs. The invasions continued for a number of years. According to Prof. Rehatsek, the invasions, off and on, continued even in the reign of Khalif Mançur (754 to 775). So, it seems that many of the Parsee settlers who first came to India and settled in Sanjan, finding the invasions continuing one after another after 749, must have left in about 751 *i. e.*, about two years after the first invasion.

Let it be noted, that, in this matter, I am not so very particular about the exact dates which may vary, as I am about the events. What I want to press, is, that the history of the Zoroastrian Sephabuds in Kohistan, who, as said by Prof. Nöldeke, continued to rule for a hundred years, confirms the statements of the Kisseh, that (a) the Parsee settlers came from Kohistan, and (b) that they did so about 100 years after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire under Yazdazard (751 A. D.)

We must know that the geographical names, Khorassan and Kohistan, were used by the Khorasan and Kohis-
tan. ancients for a very extensive tract of the country. Khorassan included Kohistan. Kohistan was, at times, taken to include Ghilan, Mazandarân, Tabaristân. Khorassan also included towns like Nishapur within its borders and Kerman on its frontier. Khorassan, as taken by the ancients, was a very vast country. It was "a vast country which extends from the direction of (Persian) Iraq, upto Azadwâr (chief town of the district of Djoueîn) and Beihaq. It is bounded in the direction of India, (on the south and on the east) by Tokharistân, Gizni, Sigestan and Kerman. It includes cities of the first rank such as Nishapur, Merv, which has been the capital of the kingdom of Balkh, Herat, Thâlekân, Neça, Abiwerd, Serakhs, and several other large cities, situated on this side of the river Jehoun (Oxus). . . . The conquest of Khorassan was made partly by arms, and partly by capitulation, in the year 31 of Hijra, under the caliphate of Osman by Obeid Allah bin-Amer-bin Keriz. . . . One reads in Beladori, that Khorassan is divided into four regions. The first is Irân Shahar, *i. e.*, Nishapour, Kohistan, &c." (I have translated from B. de Meynard's Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perso, pp. 197-198). We read the following about the extent of the mountainous country of Kohistan on the authority of Yakout: It "commences on the frontiers of Herat and extends itself in the midst of mountains upto the neighbourhood of Nehawend, Hamadân and Beroudjird. The whole of this chain is called

Kohistan, and it is contained between the province of Herat and that of Nishapour. . . . Kohistan is not inhabited in all its parts like the rest of Khorassan." (*Translated from B. de Meynard's Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse p. 466*).

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan says, that the Parsees first retired to Hormuz from Khorassan, and then, finding their position there equally bad, retired to India. (a) From what we know of the situation of this town and of its connection with India; we find, that there can be no improbability in this. Their last home was in Khorassan. So, it is quite natural, that they thought it advisable to retire to this town, which had close trade connections with their last home, and from which they could easily retire to India, if required, as they latterly did. We learn from Modjem El-Bouldan of Yakout, that it had such advantages of communication. We read therein (I give my translation from M. Barbier de Meynard's *Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse p. 595*): "It (Hormuz) serves as a port to Kerman. It is there that the ships coming from India dispose of their merchandise to be sent to their destination of Kerman, Sedgestan and Korassan." We know, that, as said above, the Futh-ul-Buldan of Al Biladuri refers to Kirman as the place from which the Parsees came to India. So, what is said here of Hormuz being the port of Kirman, which was situated in the South of Khorassan, has all probability of correctness. (b) We learn from Ibn Batuta that Hormuz was also called Moghistan *i. e.* the land of the Moghs *i. e.*, the Magi. It was probably so^y called because the Parsees, had retired to, and stayed at, this city for a number of years, before they retired to India. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, 3rd Ed. of 1903, revised by Henri Cordier, Vol. I, Bk. I, Chap. XIX, p. 110 n. 1).

It is this retreat to Hormuz, that Thomas Moore has made the theme of his beautiful Episode of "The Fire-worshippers" in his *Lalla Rookh*. In this episode, he thus refers to the emigration of the Parsees to foreign shores:

Ask the shades of them,
Who, on Cadessia's bloody plains,
Saw fierce invaders pluck the gem
From Iran's broken diadem,
And bind her ancient faith in chains:—
Ask the poor exile, cast alone
On foreign shores, unloved, unknown
Yet happier so than if he trod
His own beloved but blighted sod,
Beneath a despot stranger's nod,
Oh! he would rather houseless roam,
Where freedom and his God may lead
Than be the sleekest slave at home
That crouches to the conqueror's creed!"

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan speaks of the first band, as landing at Diu from Hormuz and then removing from there to Sanjan. It appears, that they found at Diu also the chances of being harrassed by the Arabs. Taking the date of the downfall of the Sassanian Empire to be the date of the death of Yazdazard, *viz.*, 651, the date of the arrival at Diu, according to the Kisseh, would be about 766 A. D. Now, it appears, that at about this time, the Arabs had invaded Kathiawar. Upto A. D. 871, they were strong in Sind (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. II. p. 327 n. 3). So, when in Sind, they carried their inroads from there to the coast of Kathiawar also. M. Reinaud, in his translation of the geography of Aboul Feda, while speaking of the end of the seventh century, says, that the Arabs, at first, took Daybal on the coast of Sind and then gradually spread themselves southward towards Guzarat the gulf of Cambay and Malabar (*Geographie D'Aboul Feda par M. Reinaud*, (1848), Tome I Introduction III. p. 386). It is possible, that the approaching or expected

2 Evidence of the Retreat to Hormuz.

3 Evidence on the subject of the Retreat from Hormuz to Diu.

advent of the Arabs there may have led the Parsis to leave Diu. From Yule's Cathay, we learn, that in the seventh and eighth centuries, Diu was a port of call even for ships proceeding further to the East (Yule's Cathay 1st ed. I, p. LXXVIII). So, it is quite natural that the first band of Parsis first went to this city.

We learn, that shortly after their settling at Sanjan, the Parsees consecrated a Sacred Fire and founded a Fire-temple. They sent for the necessary religious requisites from Khorassan. One may say, that, having once left the country, being hard pressed, where was there the chance of finding the religious requisites? But, it appears, that even after the first Arab invasion of Tabaristân, in the region where the above-mentioned Zoroastrian Gâobârah Sefhabuds ruled, some Zoroastrian Sefhabuds continued to rule for some time. The Gâobârah dynasty ended with the last Sefhabud, Khorshed, in the reign of Khalif Mançur (754 to 775). This prince was at first good and ruled well, but, latterly, he became proud and overbearing, and so, he became unpopular. This unpopularity, added to the treason of one Omar B. Ala'lla, whom he had given protection under his kingdom, brought about his downfall and the end of his dynasty. This traitor, defeating the Zoroastrian troops of Khorshed, "appointed a herald to invite the people to embrace Islam, whereupon crowd after crowd and tribe after tribe arrived, accepted Islam, became Musalmans and renounced ignolatry." (Rehatsek, Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XII, pp. 443-44). The Bâw dynasty of the Zoroastrian Sefhabuds founded by a prince named Kobâd, continued longer for several years. So, the Indian Parsees had still a place in their country of Khorassan, containing some Zoroastrians who could supply religious materials or liturgical apparatus for the consecration of the sacred fire. It appears from the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that another band of Parsees came from Khorassan with the messengers who had gone there to fetch these religious requisites.

The sacred fire is spoken of in the Kisseh as Iran Shâh. Now, we know, that the sacred fire is still burning at Oodwâdâ, and is still spoken of as the Iran Shah fire. The existence of this sacred Fire, even now, at Oodwada, under its name of Iran Shah as given in the Kisseh, is *standing concrete evidence of the correctness* of the Kisseh. No body has produced any book, document, or even a scrap of paper, or has even made any statement whatever, to show that this Sacred Fire's foundation or consecration is not associated with the first settlers who came from Persia after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. Thus, then, the existence of this old Fire-temple presents, as it were, a visible concrete proof or evidence of the statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, about the first settlers from Persia who came by sea. In some of the accounts also, of the various travellers like Sir S. Master given above, we find this old Sacred Fire referred to.

5 The Conquest of Champaner by Sultan Mahmud.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan refers to Sultan Mahmud's conquest of the city of Champaner. It says:

چو شد در بند پانصد ساله انجام . : و زانپس در چپانیر آمد اسلام
بہی شاہی پدید آمد ابا بخت . : در آن شهر او نشستہ بر سو تخت

i. e., Islam came to Châpaner at the end of 500 years in India. Lo! a king with good fortune appeared and he sat on the throne in that city.

(a) We learn from Mahomedan historical works like the Mirât-i-Sikandari, Tabakât-i Akbari, and the Tarikh-i-Fireshta, that Sultan Mahmud Begadâ had taken Champaner. I have calculated the date of the event, from the figures given in the Kisseh, to be a little before 1490 A. D, which I take to be the approximate date of the subsequent sack of Sanjan by the Sultan. The Mirât-i-Sikandari (Ms. of the B. B. R. A. S. Library p. 152 ll. 11-12; Bailey's Gujarât p. 59), the Tabakât-i-Akbari (Munshi Naval Kishore's Lithographed edition of 1875 p. 478 ll. 1-5; "The History of India as told by its own historians. The Local Muhammadan dynasties; Gujarat by Sir E. B. Bayley (1886) p. 210) and the Târikh-i-Fireshta (The Lithographed Edition of 1832 A. D., 1247 A. H. Vol. II. p. 378 ll. 5-8; Brigg's Fireshta

Vol. I. p. XLIV,) give the date as 889 H. *i. e.*, 1484 A. D. So, the date, arrived at on the authority of the Kisseh, is approximate to that given in Mahomedan histories.

A chappa (छप्पा), recited by Hindu bards in Gujarat, also confirms the date based on the statements of the Kisseh.

The Gujarati Translation of Forbe's Rasmala (ed. of 1878, p. 287) gives the chappa as follows :—

“ सवत पद्म प्रमाण एकतालो संवत्सर ,
 पोस मास तिथि त्रीज, वडेदु वार रवि सुदन ;
 मरशिया खट भूर, प्रथम वेरसी पडीजे ;
 जाडेजो सारंग, करण, जेतपाल कहीजे ;
 सरवइयो चंद्रमाण, पताई काज पिंडज दियो ;
 मेमदवाद मेहेरण, लघु कटक सर पावो लियो. ”

“ In Samvat, fifteen hundred and forty one.

Six rajas perished. First Vershe fell.

In the month of Posh, on the third day, the day of the sun.

Then Sârang Jhâdeja, Kurun, and Jetmal.

Survaiyo Chundrabhân, for Phutâee, gave his life.

When Mahmood Shah, the great king, took Pâwâgurh.

Pâwâgurh is the name of the fort of Champaner.

(b) According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, the subjects of Sultan Mahmud called him Zill *Subhan* (ظل سبحان) *i. e.*, the shadow or representative of God. This is some thing like the title of *Din panâh* (دين پناه) *i. e.*, the Defender of the Faith, in the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bayley, Mirat-i-Sikandari p. 161).

We thus see, that (a) Bahman Kaikobad's allusion in his Kisseh-i-Sanjan to the conquest of Champanir by Sultan Mahmud (Begada), (b) the approximate date arrived at from his figures and (c) the signification of the words of the Sultan's title, as given by him—all these are corroborated by the Mahomedan historians of Sultan Mahmud Begda's reign.

The Conquest of Champanir by Sultan Mahmud Begada was followed by an attempt to enforce a general conversion. The people of the town rather preferred, that their women and children may be committed to flames than submit to the Mahomedans and be converted. The Hindu king preferred death to Mahomedanism. We read in the Mirat-i-Sikandari: “When the infidels in the fortress were reduced to extremity, they collected their women and children and gave them as food for the flames; then they rushed out to fight. It is said that every one was killed except Rawal Patâi and his minister Dungârsi. They were brought wounded before the Sultan, and he gave them in the custody of Nizâm Khân. In this interview, the Râwal was most courteously urged to become a Musalmân, but he would not agree. At the end of five months, his wounds were cured, and he was brought before the Sultan, who entreated him to become a Musalmân, but he refused. In the end, in accordance with the decree of the learned men and *Kazis*, his head was struck off and exposed on a gibbet” (Bayleys' “The Local Mahomedan dynasties,” Gujarat, translation from the Mirât-i-Sikandari p. 209). I had the pleasure of visiting the ruins of Champaner and the fort of Pâwâgurh on 8th January this year, and, when there, heard, even now, stories of Mahmud's deeds and of the city he founded, as his new capital. Perhaps, it was this policy of Sultan Mahmud Begadâ that struck terror in the mind of the Hindu Raja, and so, to be well prepared for defence, he asked the help of his Parsee colony. It is probable, that the Parsee colony also, learning what had happened at Champaner, took the invasion of Sanjan as a matter of life and death, and therefore fought bravely.

I have spoken at some length about this event of the conquest of Champaner by Sultan Mahmud, because the Kisseh-i-Sanjan says, that it was a few years *after* this event (بعد از چند سالهاي چند), that the Sultan ordered the sack of Sanjan. There has been, of late, some difference of opinion, as to who was this Sultan Mahmud, referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that ordered the invasion. All along, from the beginning upto 1882, all took the king to be Sultan Mahmud Begadâ, but, in 1882, the author of the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. XIII, Part I. Thana, p.250 n. 7.) suggested other names. I will say a few words more on this subject, when I deal with your nine particulars later on.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan refers to one Chângâ shâh or Chângâ Asâ as a leader (dahyôvad) of Naosari, who took the sacred Fire of Irân Shah from Bansda to Naosari (couplet, 371 et. seq.) Now the fact of Changashah being a leader of Naosari is confirmed by several Persian Revayats from Persia, written more than a century before the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. They are the following :—(1) The first Revayat of Nariman Hoshang, which not only speaks of Changashah as a leader (sâlâr), but also refers to his charities, spoken of in the Kisseh (*vide* Bombay University Library's Ms. of the Revayat of Darab Hormuzdyar, Vol. I. fol. 11a—12a). This Revayat is dated 847 Yazd. *i. e.*, 1478 A. D. Thus, a Persian book, written about 122 years before the Kisseh, confirms what is written in the Kisseh about Changa Shah. We must note, that the Bombay University Manuscript itself was written in about 1570 A. D., *i. e.*, about 30 years before the date of the Kisseh (*Vide* Dr. E. W. West's remarks attached at the beginning of the Ms., p. 3, l. 8; p. 6 lls. 14-15). (2) The second Revayat of Nariman Hoshang, written in 1481, *i. e.*, about 119 years before the date of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan (Bom. University Lib. Ms. Vol. I, f. 13-a). (3) The Revayat of 880 Yazd. *i. e.*, 1511 A. D., the name of the bearer of which is not known (Bom. Univ. Lib. Ms. Vol. I. f. 15-a).

Thus we see that Changa Asa was a historical personage, and the account of his charities, as given in the Kisseh, is confirmed by other writings. If you say, that the Kisseh is imaginary and thus throw off what is said therein about Changashah, you shall have to throw off many of the Revayats. You cannot throw off the Revayats, as you have appealed to them. So, you cannot throw off what is said in the Kisseh about Changa Shah. If that is so, the Kisseh cannot be imaginary.

There are three other historical names in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. It says, that when Chângâ Shâh arranged to carry the sacred fire to Naosari, three priests accompanied it in its service. They were Nâgan Râm, Khorshed Kayamdin (Kamdin), and Châyân (or Jânyân) Sâher (or Sayer). Now, if the Kisseh was imaginary and was merely composed by Bahman Kaikobad as a poetical piece of imagination, then these names also should be imaginary. No good writer would dare to take liberty with the names of real persons in a story that he fabricates. The date of the conquest of Champaner by Sultan Mahmud Begda was 1484 A. D. The Sack of Sanjan took place after that event. Sultan Mahmud died in 1511. Therefore, the Sack must have taken place before 1511. The Parsees carried the sacred Fire at the time of the Sack to Bahrut, where it remained for 12 years. Thence they carried it to Wansda where it remained for 14 years. Thence they carried it to Naosari. So, the Fire should have been carried to Naosari at some time, at least, before $(1511+12+14=)$ 1537. Now, as the Kisseh was written in about 1600 A. D., the event of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Naosari was only about 65 to 85 years old. Taking a generation of about 20 years, this is a question of three to four generations. So, if Bahman Kaikobad had fabricated the story, he would not have dared to use, in connection with his narrative of the removal of the Fire to Naosari, the names of historical persons who had actually lived. Had he done so, the descendants of the third or fourth generation, would have naturally objected to their near ancestors' names being thus used. We find, that the above named three names are not fictitious names.

as one should expect them to be, if the Kisseh was fabulous and imaginary. They are names of three well-known persons who actually existed.

We saw above, that Bahman Kaikobad, the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, was himself, a direct descendant of Nâgan Ram. So, one may naturally expect, that he would not use the name of his own great ancestor for that of a personage in his Kisseh, if it were merely imaginary.

Khorshed Kamdin has been mentioned as a leading man in the following Revayats :—
 Khorshed Kamdin. (a) the second Revayat of Nariman Hoshang written in 850 or 855 Yazadzardi (*i. e.*, 1481 or 1486), wherein we read his name as that of a leading man. (b) Again, we find his name in another Revayat of 880 Yazadzardi *i. e.*, 1511 A.D., the name of the messenger of which is not known. This Khorshed Kamdin had three sons, Chanda, Jeshang and Âshdin or Asâ. Some of our present Udvara Mobeds descend from the first two sons, and the priests of the Jamasp Bhaji family of Bulsar descend from the third son (Parsee Prakash I. p. 6 n. 1.). We saw above, that Dastur Hoshang, the preceptor of Bahman Kaikobad, was himself a descendant of this Khorshed Kamdin. So, he would not be a party to his great ancestor's name being mentioned as a personage in a fictitious imaginary story.

It appears from a document of 1752 A. D. (Parsee Prakash I. p. 860 n. 3), that Chayân Saher also had a direct line of descendants which continued even up to 1672.

Thus we find, that all the three names, mentioned in the Kisseh as those of priests attending the Sacred Fire, were those of known historical personages. This would not have been the case had the Kisseh been an imaginary story.

XIII.

THE NINE PARTICULARS.

I will now deal with the nine particulars, which you give as your reasons for doubting the truthfulness of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. In my above remarks, I have indirectly referred and replied to some of these, but I will refer to them seriatim here and speak upon the points not touched above.

You say "there is no mention (a) of an independent Kingdom of Sanjan or (b) of a King of Sanjan and Jadi Rana. called Jadi Rana in any authentic history of Gujerat".

(a) Firstly we have said nothing about the King being independent or otherwise. Even the Kisseh-i-Sanjan itself does not say anything, one way or the other. So, I do not see how this affects the question of the truthfulness of the Kisseh or our Column movement or our inscription.

(b) As to the King Jadi Rana, as there is a difference of opinion about the exact date of the arrival at Sanjan, there is a difference in the identification. Dr. Wilson thought that, this name is probably a corruption of the Hindu name Jayadeva. The prince was probably subordinate to the Rajput King of Champauer, or perhaps Patan, formerly the Hindu capital of Gujarat (Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. I p. 175 n). This Jayadeva or Vana-Raja reigned from 745 to 806 A. D. (*Indian Antiquary* Vol. I, p. 214 n). The word Rânâ is a word of title meaning 'king.' So, Dr. Wilson thought, that Jadi may be a corruption of Jayadeva. Sir James Campbell thought that he was some "Yadava chief of south Guzerat" (Bombay Gazetteer XIII Part I. p. 249). Professor S. H. Hodiwalla, who takes a later date (936 A. D.) for the first arrival, identifies him with Vaja-Jada-deva of the Silhâra dynasty of Northern-Konkan, who became king in about 935 A. D. (Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XXIII p. 358).

It appears from the history of Kathiawar, that the Jâdavs were an ancient race of India and its princes ruled in many parts of India. It seems, that Jadi Rana may be the titular appellation, derived from the name of this race or its dynasty of kings. We have an analogous case of Firdousi speaking generally of the kings of India as Sangal of India. For example, he speaks of the Indian King as Sangal in the reign of Kaikhosru (M. Mohl Vol. III, p. 77), and again in the reign of Behramgour (Mohl VI pp. 121-59). We have the authority of another Mahomedan author, Edrisi, to say, that Indian Kings were often known by the same name. He says: "The name (or rather the title) of Balhâra (بلهارا) signifies king of kings, and is hereditary here, as in other parts of India, where, when a king ascends the throne, he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir" (I translate from A. Jaubert's Géographie D'Édrisi, Tome I. p. 173). Edrisi quotes Obeïd-allah ben-Kordadbeh (a Musalman of Magian descent as his name signifies, who died in 912 A. D., Bom. Gaz. I, Part. I, Gujarat p. 506, n. 7) in support of his statement. This author gives several such instances from the names of the kings of India. One is Djabé (جابه). I think, that, probably, this name is Jade of the Jâdav dynasty. The Balhara of these Arab writers is the Balhâra or the Râshtrakuta dynasties of western India. Edrisi's signification of the name Balhâra is not upheld by some (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 23, n. 1), but the fact stands, that successive kings were known by that common name. The last part of the name viz. 'ra' is, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, the same as Rai, a word which we find used in the Kisseh for 'king.' Balharâ is Sanskrit *vallabha-râja* through the Prakrit *ballaha-râya* (Ibid. p. 388 n. 1). The Balhâra kings are connected with the North Konkan coast and even with Gujarat. The sea-board town of Saimur or Chaul, where, according to some Arab geographers some fire-worshippers lived and Sopara and Thana were included in the kingdom of some Balhâra kings. According to some, Sindan, which they identified with Sanjan also was at one time included in their kingdom (Ibid p. 23 n. 1). Some of the Balhâra kings used the title of Mahârâjâ-dhirâja (Ibid p. 389) i.e. the great king of kings, Râjâ of Râjas, corresponding to the Iranian kings' title of Malakân Malakâ, Shâhân Shâh. We find from the Kisseh that the Dastur addressed the Sanjan king in a similar phraseology, as Râe-i Râyân i.e. king of kings.

You say, that "there is no mention in any history of Sultan Mahmud Begada of the conquest by him of Sanjan." It is not always, that historians name all the different towns conquered by victorious invaders. They generally name large districts or provinces that they conquer. For example, if a writer were to speak of the conquest of Gujarat, he would not mention all the towns in the province as those that were conquered. Thus, in the case of the sack of Sanjan also, historians have referred to the invasion by Mahmud Begada, of that part of the country, where Sanjan is situated, though they have not mentioned the particular town of Sanjan. To us, from our Parsee point of view, the sack is an important event, but in the general event of the invasion of this part of the country, it may form a small episode. Otherwise, historians have mentioned the fact of Mahmud Begada's several invasions of this part of the country.

Writers differ, as to which particular invasion it was, during which the sack of Sanjan took place. Dr. John Wilson thought that "the time referred to was about 1507 A. D." (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 182 n). Perhaps, Dr. Wilson was led to this date by the fact, that while marching against Chaul, Mahmud Begada had taken Bassein, Mahim and Bombay, which are a little south of Sanjan (History of Gujarat, by James Bird (1835) p. 214. Bayley's History of Gujarat (1886) p. 222). I take the date of the sack of Sanjan as 1490 A. D. I rest on the Mirât-i-Sikandari (Bayley's Gujarat pp. 219-220) and say that the sack of Sanjan may have taken place in about 1490, when Mahmud Begadâ's army had come up to Bassein. Prof. S. H. Hodiwala gives the date of the Sack of Sanjan as 1465, and tries to point out, that even the mountain of Bahrut, referred to in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as the place of retreat by the Parsees after the sack of Sanjan, is spoken of in historical works like the Mirât-i-Sikandari in connection with the invasion of Mahmud Begada of this part of the country. Thus, you will see, that the conquest of this part of the country where Sanjan is situated,

is referred to by Mahomedan historians of Mahmud Begada, though the town of Sanjan is not specifically referred to by name.

In the matter of this particular, as in that of others, you refer to Mr. Nadirsha's Paper, which in its turn, refers us to Mr. P. B. Desai's Paper entitled "કિસ્સે સંજાનુતથા સંજાનું પારસી સંસ્થાન—એક તવારીખી તપાસ." The subject of king Mahmud Begedâ, treated in this paper was at first treated by him in his Târikh-i-Shâhân-i-Irân. In this Paper, Mr. Pallonji B. Desai has, in his turn, taken his cue from Sir James Campbell, who thought, that Mahmud, the Conqueror of Sanjan, referred to in the Kisseh, may not be Mahmud Begada but Mahomed Alaudin Khilji (1295-1315. Bombay Gazetteer, Thana, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 250). Sir James Campbell, in his turn, was misled by Eastwick's translation, which, though generally correct, was faulty in several places, especially, where there occurred Parsee terms or Parsee proper names, which, as a foreigner, he could not properly understand. I will say how he was misled. But before I do so, I would note here Mr. Pallonji Desai's views about the Kisseh. Notwithstanding all his criticisms, based, not on the original Persian, but upon its rendering by Mr. Rabâdi, he accepts the Kisseh-i-Sanjan as correct in its main features of the narration of events. He speaks of its author Bahman Kaikobad as a historian (તવારીખનવેશ. Târikh-i-Shâhân-i-Irân Vol. II, p. 397) and says: "We accept the story, that the Sanjan colony was, according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, destroyed 500 years after the Parsees settled in India. We fully agree with poet Bahman's calculation in this matter." (સંજાનું સંસ્થાન "કિસ્સે સંજાનુ" મુજબ, પારસીઓના હિન્દુસ્તાનમાં આવીને ૬૦૦ વર્ષ પછી ૫૦૦ વર્ષ તારાજ થયું હતું. એ વાત અમા કબૂલ રાખિયે છિયે. અમા શાયર બેહમનની આ ગણતરી સાથ પુરેપુરા મલતા છિયે." કિસ્સે સંજાન p. 38).

Mr. Pallonjee has accepted almost all the statements of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, though he has doubted the chronology and the identity of two personages as taken by other writers. The statements he has accepted as true are the following: 1. The Persecution of the Mahomedans after the Arab conquest (Târikh-i-Shâhân-i-Iran, p. 382. Vide also p. 337). 2. The flight to India (Ibid. p. 384, vide also pp. 337, 362). 3. Their arrival at Diu (Ibid p. 387). He even gives, on the authority of another writer (Bombay Samachar, Nov. 1878), a reason, why the Parsees should have left Diu for Sanjan, viz. that of a Mahomedan invasion of Diu. 4. Their arrival by sea and founding a colony on the shores of Western India (પારસીઓ ઇસવી ૮ મી સદીમાં ઇરાનથી મોટી સંખ્યામાં ઈર્યાને માર્ગે પશ્ચિમ કાંઠા ઉપર સંસ્થાન કરી રહ્યા ત્યારથી તેમનો હિન્દ સાથનો સંબંધ તવારીખમાં નોંધાયો છે. (Ibid p. 343)... આ રીતે ક્યાં વરસમાં હિન્દુસ્તાનમાં પારસીઓએ પગ મૂક્યો તે ચોકસ થતું નથી. અલબત્ત તે રાજ્ય ગયા પછીનું વરસ હોયું જોઈએ, પણ કયું વરસ તે સુકરર થતું નથી. સુકરર એકજ વાત લેખાય છે અને તે એ કે ઇસ્વી ૬૦૦ વર્ષમાં પારસીઓનો એક ટોળો પશ્ચિમ હિન્દુસ્તાનમાં સંજાનને અંદરે ઉતર્યો હતો. Ibid p. 386). Referring to the accounts of some other writers on this subject, he adds: "હવે આ બયાન સાથ આપણા કિસ્સો લખનાર મુબદ સાહેબે આપેલું બયાન લગભગ મલતું આવેછે." (Ibid p. 390). 5. The visit of the first Parsees to the Indian Raja and the acceptance of certain conditions before settling (Ibid p. 390). 6. The founding of the colony at Sanjan and the consecration of the first Fire-temple (આમ ૬૦૦ વર્ષ પછી જરથોસ્તીઓએ સંજાનમાં જે સર્વથી પહેલું કામ આરંભ્યું તે એક આતરાનું મકાન બાંધવાનું હતું. એ કામમાં જાદોરાણી તેમને મહેરબાનગી ભરેલી મદદ હતી. રાજાનાં શોહરથી થોડેક દૂર પારસીઓએ એક કુશાદે જગામાં પોતાનું ગામ વસાવ્યું. Ibid p. 391). He then discusses the question of the dates. (આ રીતે ત્યારે પારસીઓ સંજાનમાં પહેલા કયારે આવ્યા તે બાબે એ મત છે. તેણે ઉપર કહ્યું તેમ જાદોરાણી તેજ જયદેવ હોય તે જે તાયફાએ આતરા બેહરામ બનાવ્યા તેને ઉતરવાની તારીખ ૩૯૫ ની ખરી લાગે છે. Ibid p. 392). 7. The long stay at Sanjan (પારસીઓ સંજાનમાં ૩૦૦ વરસ રહ્યા કેડે કેવા પ્રખ્યાત થઈ પડ્યા હશે તે ૧૦ મી અને ૧૧ મી સદીમાં આ દેશ ખાતે મુસાફરીએ આવેલા આરબ લખનારોની શાહાદત ઉપરથી જણાય છે. Ibid. p. 393). He then refers to Edrisi as one of the Mahomedan travellers who referred to the Parsees prospering in India after their landing at Sanjan. તેમની સદીની આખરી સુધીએ શોહર ખાતે હિંદુ રાજ્ય ચાલતું હતું, અને પારસીઓને માટે તે ખરેખર ધર્મરાજ્ય હતું. (Ibid). 8. The Sack of Sanjan by Alafkhan, the general of Sultan Mahmud. (Ibid. p. 344). He differs from other writers, as to who this Alafkhan and Sultan Mahmud were. 9. The Dispersion of Parsees

after the above conquest of Sanjan (Ibid p. 344 col. 2). 10. The Flight to the Mountain of Bahrut (Ibid. p. 345). He differs as to how many years after the sack it took place. 11. Their arrival at Bansda from Bahrut (Ibid. p. 345). 12. The Removal of the sacred Fire to Naosari from Bansda (Ibid. p. 345). 13. The hand of Sanjânâ Mobads, Nâgan Ram and Châyân Sahiâr in the removal of the sacred fire to Naosari (Ibid. p. 345). 14. The religious-mindedness and charities of Changashah, the Parsee of Naosari, who had an active hand in the removal of the Sacred fire from Bansda to Naosari (Ibid. p. 348).

Thus, we see, that Mr. P. Desai accepts as true *all* the events of the Exodus. He even suggested the following words for the inscription: "ઈ. સ. ૬૫૨માં પારસીઓનું ઇરાનનું રાજ્ય ગયા પછી જન અને મજહબના અચાવ માટે તે પારસીઓ દ્વારા માર્ગે પશ્ચિમ હિંદુસ્તાનમાં પહેલા ઊતર્યા, તેઓની તથા તેમના તે ગણીરાઓ યુજરાતમાં અલકુબ્બાન નામના ઇસલામી સરદાર સાથે હિંદુરાજ તરફથી માર્યા ગયા તેઓની યાદગારી માટેનો આ સ્તંભ. . . ." His quarrel is more with those who identify the Sultan Mahmud of the Kisseh with the Sultan Mahmud Begada. This is not the place to examine more critically his statements on this and some other subjects—statements based on the doubtful observations of recent authors.

I have dwelt here at some length upon Mr. P. B. Desai's views on the subject, because your only authority, Mr. Nadirsha, has referred his readers to him, and he is now represented as taking an attitude of opposition to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan almost all the principal statements of which he has admitted. Mr. Desai, has, after he wrote his book of History (તારીખે શાહાને ઇરાન) in 1895, written in 1908 a paper, entitled કિસ્સે સંજાનુ તથા સંજાનુ પારસી સંસ્થાન. એક તવારીખી તપાસ. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer (Thana Vol. XIII Part I. pp. 250-51; Vol. IX Part II. Gujarat Population, p. 187 n. 3), for the first time, doubted in 1882, the fact, accepted by Anquetil Du Perron, Dr. Drummand, Dr. Wilson, Dastur Moola Feroze, Dastur Aspandiarjee Kamdin, Dastur Framjee Aspandiarjee and others, *viz.*, that the Sultan Mahmud was Sultan Mahmud Begada, and suggested, that he may be Alâ-ud-din Khilji. Mr. Desai, fascinated by the new idea, took up the suggestion and the Gazetteer's line of argument. In my paper on "A Few Events in the early History of the Parsees and their Dates," published in 1905 (The Zarthoshti Vol. I. Nos. 3 and 4 Vol. II No. 1-4), I combatted this new view. Now, the main object of Mr. Desai's paper of 1908 is to reply to my paper, and to support his own view based on Sir J. Campbell's view, that the Sultan Mahmud was not Mahmud Begada. In doing so, he has thrown some doubts upon some of the statements of the Kisseh, not directly connected with the above principal events, the truthfulness of all of which he has accepted. This is not the place to reply to all his doubts, some of which are replied to in the course of this letter. But it may be said that notwithstanding all his doubts, he accepts the Kisseh as correct in its main events. He says at the end of his paper. "હવે આ વિષયને અહીં તમામ કરીશું. સંજાનુ સંસ્થાન 'કિસ્સે સંજાનુ' મુજબ પારસીઓના હિંદુસ્તાનમાં આવીને ડરીકામ થયા પછી ૫૦૦ વરસે તારાજ થયું હતું. એ વાત અમો કબુલ રાખીએ છીએ. અમો શાયર બેહેમનની આ ગણતરી સાથે પુરેપુરા મહત્તા છીએ (માત્ર ૧૦-૨૦ વર્ષનો ફરક હવે નોંધો નથી); અને તે મુજબ જોતાં સંજાનુ સંસ્થાન યુજરાતના મહમદ બેગડાએ નહિ પણ તે દીક્ષીના મોટા મુલતાન અલાઉદ્દીન ખિલજીએ યુજરાત જીત્યું તે વેળા તારાજ કીધું હતું. એ આખતની મુખતેસર નોંધ નીચે મુજબની ઉતારી રાકારો." He then gives a list of the principal events, referred to by the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, and accepting *all* of them as correct, gives his own dates of some of the later events, connected with the sack of Sanjan at the hands, according to his view, of Alauddin Khilji.

One will thus see, that Mr. Pallonji Desai accepts the statements of almost all the events of the Kisseh. His chief argument against Mahmud Begada is, that the Mahomedan historians of his reign do not mention the name of Sanjan as the town of his conquest. But the reply to this is, that, as said above, it is not always that historians mention the names of different towns when they refer to the conquest of a part of a country. If there be any force in his argument, one may as well challenge Mr. Pallonjee Desai to produce the evidence of any historian of the reign of Alauddin Khilji who names Sanjan as conquered

by this king. Mr. Desai says: “અલાહ-બે-દીનની કૃતેહોની તવારીખ લખનાર અમીર ખુસરોએ એવું જાહેર કીધેલું છે કે યુજરાતની કૃતેહ પછી સંજાનના દરિયાના કિનારાએ ‘ગબ્ર’ લોકોના લોહીથી રાતા બની ગયા હતા” (Tarikh-i Shahan i Iran p. 396). I beg to say, that my learned friend is *entirely* in the wrong. (a) Amir Khosru (1253-1325) does *not at all* name the town of Sanjan as one of the towns conquered by Alauddin Khilji or as the town where the blood of the Guebres was shed. Campbell also speaks only of “the shores of the Gujarat sea.” (Vide Bom. Gazetteer Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat, population p. 187). Amir Khosru does not even name Gujarat, though that name may be inferred. He merely says: “The shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*” (Elliot’s History of India, Vol. III, p. 549). Mr. Pallonji Desai has taken an unwarranted liberty with the writings of the original authors both Amir Khosru and Campbell. (b) Again Amir Khosru has *not* referred to the fact of the Guebres being killed in any separate history of his own about Alauddin Khilji, but has referred to it in a love story, the very name of which ‘Ashaké’ shows that it is a love story. (c) Mr. P. Desai says that the Mahomedans use the word *gabr*, *only* for the Parsees (આ ગબ્ર શબ્દ મહમદિયાનો વુજીહર દાખલ પારસીઓનેજ માટે વાપરે છે Ibid). Not at all. The word Guebre, as said by Campbell himself, does not necessarily mean the Parsees. It is at times applied to Hindus also. You will see from a passage, quoted later on, that Elliot also cautions us against being misled by the use of the word *gabr* (Elliot Vol. V, pp. 567, 568).

Mr. P. B. Desai accepts as true the story of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, that one Sultan Mahmud invaded Sanjan. He also admits the Kisseh’s statement, that it was one Alafkhan, a general of the Sultan, who invaded Sanjan and defeated and killed the Parsees who loyally fought for their Hindu king. His main point is, that this Sultan Mahmud was not the Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat but Sultan Muhammad Alauddin Khilji, and that the general Alaf Khan was not the Alaf-Khan of Mahmud Begada’s Court, but the Alafkhan of Alauddin Khilji’s Court. In the first place he must remember that Muhammad (ﷺ) and Mahmud (ﷺ) are different names.

In this contention, Mr. Desai says, that I am the only person now to believe that Mahmud Begada was the invader (આને એરવદ જીવનજી જમરીદજી મોદી એકલાજ એવા પ્રયત્નકર છે કે જેઓ સંજાનની કૃતેહ બેગડાના વખતમાં થયલી માને છે. અને મનાવે છે, કિસ્સે સંજાન p. 38). The fact is, that all along, it has been so believed, and there are several authors, even now, who believe, that the Kisseh’s Mahmud was Mahmud Begada. They are the following: Anquetil Du Perron, in 1755-60 (Zend Avesta Tome 1, Partie, I., p. 321, marginal note, and p. 266), Dastur Aspandiarjee Kamdin in 1826 (કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર pp. 199-200). Dr. Robert Drummond in 1808 (The Grammatical parts of the Guzerattee, Maharatta and English Languages. Vide the word પારસી), Moola Feroze in 1808 (p. 61 of his History of the Parsis referred to above on page 41), Dastur Framjee Aspandiarjee Rabadi in 1831 (Hadishanameh p. 122), Dr. John Wilson in 1842 (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. I., p. 182 n.) and Mr. W. Ramsay (“This is doubtless Mahmud Begada of Ahmedabâd” Indian Antiquary (1872) Vol. I., p. 213). All these authors said, that the Sultan Mahmud of the Kisseh was Sultan Mahmud Begada. Even within these last few years, the late Mr. B. B. Patel (Parsee Prakash, Vol. I. p. 5), Sir George Birdwood (1900), the late Mr. Dhruve (in his speech from his Presidential chair as the President of the Gujarti Parishad in Bombay), Prof. S. H. Hodiwala and others have said the same thing.

Before proceeding further, I will give here an instance of how Mr. Pallonjee Desai contradicts himself. At one place he says :

આતશ બેહેરામને નવસારી લાવી તખ્તનશીન કરવાના કામમાં આંગા આશા નામે એક માતબર બેહેદીન અકાબરે મદદ આપી. આંગા આશા નવસારીના પેહેલા દેસાઈ હતા. તેમને પંદરમી સદીની શરૂઆતમાં દેસાઈગઈ મળ્યું હતું. રવાયતોમાં મજકુર આંગા આશાનું નામ યજ્ઞદેવદી

સને ૮૯૭ (ઈસવી ૧૪૭૬) થી આવે છે તે ૮૮૧ (૧૫૧૨) સુધીના કાગળ પત્રોમાં આંધુ આવ્યા કરે છે. એ ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે નવસારીવાળા શેકીયા આંગા આરાનો જમાનો ઈસવી ૧૪૫૦ થી ૧૫૨૫ સુધી હોઈ શકે (તારીખે શાહાને ઈશિન ભાગ ૨૦ પાના ૪૦૩—૪૦૬).

Thus he says that Changashah lived at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Now in his ક્રીસ્તે સંબંધ્ય written in 1908, in reply to me, he, in order to let his view of Ala-ud-din Khilji being the conqueror of Sanjan tally with his dates, gives the date of bringing the sacred fire to Naosari, in which, as he said, Changashah had a hand, as 1419 (ક્રીસ્તે એ સંબંધ પા. ૩૯). How can that be? On his own statement, Changashah who flourished from 1450 to 1525, was not even born then (in 1419). Thus, we find that Mr. Desai contradicts himself in his facts and figures and dates. There are other statements which are self-contradictory and which can be challenged but this is not the place to do so.

I will examine here Sir James Campbell's doubts about the name of the Sultan Mahmud who conquered Sanjan. He says: "The mention of Champaner as his capital makes it probable that the writer of the Kissah-i-Sanjan thought the Musalman prince was the well-known Mahmud Begada. But the completeness of Alp Khan's conquest of Gujarat leaves little doubt that Sanjan fell to his arms. The conqueror might possibly, though much less likely, be Muhammad Shah Tughlik who reconquered Gujarat and the Thana coast in 1348. It cannot be Mahmud Begada, as authorities agree that, after long wanderings, the Sanjan fire was brought to Navsari early in the fifteenth century (1419). Alp Khan may be Ulugh Khan, brother to Alâ-ud-din, who is sometimes by mistake called Alp Khan, or he may be Alp Khan, brother-in-law to Alâ-ud-din. Ulugh Khân conquered Gujarat in A.D. 1295-1297 and Alp Khan governed Gujarat in A.D. 1300-1320. The Alp Khan of the text was probably Ulugh-Khan" (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. IX, Part II, Guzrat Population p. 187 n. 3; Thana, Vol. XIII, part I, p. 250, n. 7).

We see from this passage that Sir James Campbell himself was not certain. He speaks very cautiously and says that the Sultan may be Muhammad Tughlak or Alaudin Khilji. He is not even certain about the general whether it was Ulugh Khan or Alp Khan. I have dealt with the doubt raised by Sir James Campbell at full length in my book, entitled "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsee and their Dates", and I beg to refer my readers to that book for the details of this question. But I would shortly point out here, how a mistake of Eastwick in his translation of the Kisseh seems to have misled the learned Editor of the Gazetteer. The Kisseh, while speaking of the removal of the sacred fire from Bansdah to Naosari says

یکی بهدین پدید آمد در آن وقت . . . نبوده مثل او کس انچنان وقت
دید نام او چانگا بن آسا . . . که با بهدین همیکردی دلاسا

Translation—A Behedin (layman) appeared at the time, and no body was like him at the time. . . . He was a leader and his name was Changa bin Asa, who always consoled (*i.e.*, looked to the comforts of) the Behedins (*i.e.*, his co-religionists).

Now Eastwick, not being familiar with Parsee names, by some mistake, and that, a natural one for a foreigner, mistook the common noun, 'dahyovad' for a proper noun, and the proper noun Changa bin Asa (Changashah) for a common noun, and thus translated the third line: "Dhewud was his name, and he resembled the blessing of marriage." (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. I, p. 187). As a matter of fact, the writers of the section on "The Gujarat Parsees" in the ninth volume of the Gazetteer, published in 1899, refer to this Changa-Shah as a *dâwar*, *i.e.*, as a leader. But Sir James Campbell doubted the statement of his own assistant collabourators, saying in a note (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 188, n. 1), "But the poetic account does not name the layman who persuaded the priests to remove the fire to Sanjan (? Naosari)". Thus, we find, that though the name of Changa bin Asa *does occur* in the *original Persian Kisseh*, as quoted above, Sir James Campbell, not finding it in the *translation* of Eastwick, who, being a foreigner, could not properly understand the word, doubted the

fact of Changa bin Asa being the leader who carried the sacred fire of the Iran Shah Fire temple of Sanjan to Naosari. Had Eastwick properly understood the words in question, and had he translated them correctly, the editor of the Gazetteer would have, I think, been led to make inquiries about the time, when Changa bin Asa lived; and, as he was the principal personage who took an active part in the removal of the Sanjan sacred fire from Bansdah to Naosari, 26 years after the fall of Sanjan at the hands of Sultan Mahmud, he would *not* have fallen into the error of supposing one Sultan for another, the Sultan Mahmud known as Begada, for the Sultan Muhammad known as Ala-ud-Din Khilji.

(a) Take the fact of the sack of Sanjan taking place, as said by the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, after the conquest of the well-known fort of Champaner by the Mahomedans, and as referred to by me above at some length. Now, all Mahomedan histories give the date of the conquest of Champaner by the Mahomedans as 1484 A.D. So, the Sultan, who ruled over Gujerat *must* be Sultan Mahmud Begada (1459-1511) and *not* Sultan Muhammad Ala-ud-Din Khilji (1297-1317), who flourished about 200 years *before* the conquest of Champaner by the Mahomedans.

The References in the Kisseh to (a) Champaner and to (b) Changashah, point to Mahmud Begada as the conqueror.

(b) One must take the following two facts into consideration: (1) that of the Sanjan sacred fire being taken to Naosari, 26 years after the defeat of the Parsees under the Hindu Raja at Sanjan and after their consequent flight to the mountain of Bahrou, and (2) that of its being so taken under the leadership of the well-known leading Parsee Changa bin Asa. This Changa bin Asa flourished in the fifteenth century. So, the event of the sack, which occurred in his time, *must* have taken place in the time of Mahmud Begada, (1459-1511) who lived in that century, and *not* in that of Ala-ud-Din Khilji (1297-1317) who lived about 200 years before and in whose time Changa bin Asa was not even born. If you throw off Mahmud Begada and accept Ala-ud-Din Khilji, you shall have to throw off Changa-Shah, whose connection with the event of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Naosari 26 years after the Sack of Sanjan and whose charities are mentioned in the Kisseh. If you throw off Changa-Shah, you must be prepared to throw off, not one Revayet, but many Revayets. I do not think you are prepared to do that, as you have accepted their authority. If not so prepared, you must be prepared to withdraw the allegation against Bahman Kaikobad that his Kisseh is imaginary. If you say, you are prepared to throw off the Revayets, I will simply say that you are inconsistent. I will further add, that I am reminded of the Gujarati proverb પેતના વચ્ચા ગામ બાળે *i.e.*, one who (by some accident) burns himself, or burns his house, is prepared to burn the whole village.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan says, that only about 1400 Parsees were killed in the attack on Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud. Sir James Campbell said, and Mr. Pallonji Desai followed him in saying, that this event may be the event, referred to by Amir Khosru, the "Parrot of Hind" (1253-1325) in his historical poem *Ashika*, which has "for its main subject the loves of Dewal Rani, daughter of Rai of Gujarat and Khizir Khan, eldest son of Sultan Ala-ud-Din" (Elliot III, 554). The poet says that Ulugh Khan was sent against the Rai of Gujarat "where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*" (Ibid p. 549). So, this was a case of a massacre of thousands. It, therefore, cannot be taken as a reference to the sack of Sanjan. As the writer of the Gazetteer himself says, we must be careful in drawing conclusions from the use of the word *Gabr* by Mahomedan authors, because "*Gabre* is often vaguely used to mean infidel; it does not by itself prove that the people referred to are Parsees or even fire-worshippers" (Bombay Gazetteer, Thana Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 251 n.)

Anyhow, the fact remains, that Sanjan was sacked and our ancestors bravely fought against the enemy of their Hindu ruler. The Kisseh speaks of a Sultan Mahmud as the enemy. I take it, that the Mahmud was Mahmud Begada. Mr. Nadirsha's authority takes it that it was Muhammad Alaud-Din Khilji. We both agree in the event of the sack taking place. We have not said anything in the inscription, as to who destroyed the colony. We have studio-

usly avoided controversial points. Even after writing his above paper, Mr. Desai himself has, as a member of the above Sub-Committee of experts, agreed to say, that, "If it is at any place that the Parsees should raise a Column to commemorate their settlement in India, it is at Sanjan." Sir James Campbell, the Editor of the Bombay Gazetteer, whom he follows in his doubts, as to who the conqueror of Sanjan was, also says, that "it was here that, about the year 720, a band of Persian refugees settled" (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, Thana, p. 301). If anything, a note of the event of the Sack also may be taken somewhere. Mr. Fallenji B. Desai, as a member of the Experts' Committee, himself wished that that event may be inscribed, but after mature consideration that idea was dropped.

In your third particular, you refer to Maçoudi's statement, that in A. D. 943 (Hijri 332) there was a large Zoroastrian population in Hind, Sind, and China. In your particular No. 9, you refer to a similar statement of Ebn Haukal (902-968). But what do you mean to assert thereby? If you mean to say, that there were some Parsee colonies in India here and there before the fall of Yazdazard, I agree with you. The statements of our own Avesta and Pahlavi books point to that conclusion. I myself have said that elsewhere (Journal B. B. R. A. S. in the Press). We all know that. We cannot be ignorant of the fact. There is the evidence also of Herodotus and other classical authors. There is also much of numismatic and archæological evidence for that. But why should this fact go against the truthfulness of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan which does not say that it was not so. Why should it militate against our movement to raise a Memorial Column at Sanjan to commemorate the particular event of our arrival and settlement at that place after the fall of Yazdazard? Instead of being destructive, you, and your Association as well, may be constructive and arrange to have Memorial Columns or Memorial Tablets, if you like, in those parts of Hind, Sind, or China, where you can prove the existence of Parsee colonies at one time. As far as I know, you are not at all in a position to point to any particular place in those countries, where, from actual present day facts, you can say, that a memorial column may be erected.

If, by specially mentioning the year 943 A.D., you mean to say, that there were Parsee retreats to Hind, Sind and China also, I say: "That is possible." This rather should support our movement. After the downfall of the Empire under Yazdazard, there was, what one may call, a general Retreat. Bands seem to have gone out in various directions, even to the distant shores of China, and one of such bands was on the hospitable shores of Gujarat.

But the point, the most important point is: "What became of those various bands of Parsees and of the descendants of those various bands that had gone to your Hind, Sind and China? It is for you to point out their present descendants and their places, and say: "Here they are; and so, let us erect Memorial Columns here." All these bands are gone and gone for ever. There is not a vestige of them left. If anything, some of their members, driven to despair there, may have joined the Sanjan Colony or its off-shoots. Your own authority, Mr. Nadirsha says so: "એવું અનુમાન કરી શકાય છે કે એ સુદત દરમયાન અને ઘણું કરી ઈ. સ. ૧૨૨૩ માં ઉછના નરથોશ્તીઓ નીચે ગુજરાત તરફ નીકરી આવી સીંધ પંજાબમાની અસલી નરથોશ્તીઓની વરતી અતમ કરી હશે" (Report 3rd Zor. Conf, pp. 389-90). When you and your authority say so, it is rather your duty to help the movement of the column at Sanjan, the town of the early retreat which welcomed your Sind and Punjab Parsees, than to fling destructive criticism against it. When all these bands or colonies of yours in Hind, Sind and China have disappeared in one way or another, thanks to the hospitality of our Hindu brethren on the hospitable shores of Gujarat, that the Sanjan colony, flourished and sent off its offshoots to different parts of the country. It is mostly the descendants of this Sanjan band and its offshoots, that have flourished in Western India, and have, under the benign British Government, further prospered and form the present Parsee population of India, a handful in the teeming millions of India. It is probable, that the fugitives from other bands, here and there, may have joined their co-religionists, the descendants of the Sanjan band, at one time or another. The retreat may have continued for some time, and we know, that, to a certain

extent, it has continued even upto our own times. Our Irani co-religionists from Yezd, Kerman and other places, pressed under the hard rule of a Hâkëm (governor), or driven by famine or such other calamities, now and then, have continued to come to India, and to augment the Parsee population here. The Sanjan band and its subsequent off-shoots in the various parts of the country have been, as it were, the rendezvous, where strugglers have come in from time to time. It is the advent of this Sanjan band, which alone has continued prosperously, that we are going to commemorate by the erection of a Column at Sanjan; and it is a pity that an Association like yours, from whom one may expect help and constructive work, should try to be un-Iranian and destructive in its spirit, and find flaws against the movement on purely imaginary grounds, as if we did not know sufficient of our ancestral history and wanted to be taught that history. I can add to your nine particulars, about nineteen, or even ninety more, to show that the ancient Persians were long connected with India in the Peshdâdian, Kiânian, Achaemenian, Parthian, and Sassanian dynasties, but all that has nothing whatever to do with our present movement, which associates itself with a particular event in the long list of connections—a movement that should associate with it many loving thoughts of what, at one time, was our dear Fatherland, of what now is our dear adopted Motherland, of the kind hospitality that we once enjoyed under its mild Hindu rulers, and of the protection and prosperity that we now enjoy under its benign British rulers.

In connection, with Maçoudi's above statement, referred to by you, let it be noted, that, when some of the Mahomedan authors speak of Sind, one must not *always* understand by that name exactly the modern Sind. They mean by Sind "the country bordering on India from Kerman and Seistan" ("pays limitrophe de l'Inde, du Kerman, et du Sedjestan", Barbier De Maynard's Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, p. 324). Ebn Haukal separates Sind from Hind. He names Sind first and then Hind (هند و سندهند, Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 2.). We find the same in Edrisi. He speaks of India, as touching Sind (Les pays de l'Inde qui touchent au Sind, Jaubert's translation Vol. I, p. 170). Kathiawar, and Gujarat are taken to be in Hind. Maçoudi also takes Sind to be, as it were, a separate country from Hind (Translation of B. De Meynard Vol. I, p. 163. Du côté des montagnes, l'Inde a pour limite le Khorâçan et le Sind, jusqu'au Tibet. Vide also p. 178). Maçoudi includes even Kashmir in Sind (Kashmir fait aussi partie du Sind. Ibid p. 373). Even Oman in the Persian gulf and Basra, which was ruled over by the kings of Oman, were considered by Arab writers as parts of Hind. Tabari speaks of Oman as a part of Hindustan. (عما نرا از هندوستان دارند) Munshi Naval Kishore's text of 1874, p. 478). Maçoudi speaks of Basra as belonging to the country of Hind (ارض الهند B. De Meynard IV, p. 225). Most of the country on the lower Euphrates was called Hind (Yules Cathay, 1st ed. Vol. I, p. 56). The city of Obillah, a little further from Basra, was known by Talmudic writers as "Hindiki or India". (Rawlinson's "Notes on the Ancient Geography". The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of 1857, p. 186). Rawlinson says: "The people of Basra still constantly speak of the districts at the mouth of the river as Hind, from the circumstance of their being the nearest points to India and the places where the vessels from India rendezvous" (Ibid). In an old manuscript, belonging to Ervad Manookji Rustamji Unwala, I have seen an extract from the Revayet of Bahman Aspandyôr (1626 A. D.). Therein the Dasturs of Persia address their writing to the Dasturs, Dastur-Zalehs, Behdins &c., inhabiting in Hind and Sind and the country of India (ساکن هند و سندهند و کشور هندوستان) (last folio. f. 250). So one must be very careful in drawing conclusions from the use of the word Hind and Sind, which are, as in the above Revayat, taken to be separate from Hindustan.

Now as to the particular passage of Maçoudi, wherein he speaks of a large Zoroastrian population in Hind, Sind, and China, as you have not given any reference, I am not in a position to examine it. But, taking the passage to be as it is, what we learn from it, is only this: that there were Zoroastrians in Sind, Hind, and China, during his times. I lay aside, for the present, the question that his Sind may not be exactly the modern Sind, and say, that Maçoudi's statement does not oppose the main fact of the Exodus, viz that a band of Parsees

landed and lived in Gujarat in Hind. Maçoudi says in one place: "The Magis still venerate several fire-temples in Irak, Fars, Kerman, Seistan, Khorassan, Tabaristan, Jebel, Azarbaijan, Erran, Hind, Sind and China" (I give my translation from that of M. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. IV 86). Now, as a matter of fact the Sacred fires of almost all these places have been extinguished. We know, that that of Iranshah in Hind is still burning at Udwad. Why should you exclude Gujarat from your Hind? and why should you oppose our attempt to commemorate the great event which led to the foundation of a temple in that part of Hind?

Again, in connection with this matter, I would draw your attention to Note C. (p. 55)

Probability for the Punjab and Sind Colonies being pre-Sassanian. headed "On Fire-worship in Upper-India" in the appendix of the fifth Volume of Elliot's "History of India as told by its own Historians." Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of the *Tabakât-i Akbari* (who died about 1595 A. D.), describes the following event in the reign of Ibrahim the Ghaznavide (1059-99), grandson of the celebrated Mahmud. "The Sultan turned his face towards Hindustan, and conquered many towns and forts, and amongst them was a city exceedingly populous, inhabited by a tribe of Khurâsâni descent, whom Afrâsiyâb had expelled from their native country. . . . It was so completely reduced by the power and perseverance of the Sultan, that he took away no less than 100,000 captives" (Ibid. p. 559).

The *Tarikh-i Alfi* of Maulana Ahmad, a contemporary of Akbar, says as follows on the same subject: "Ibrahim next marched against Derapur in Hindustan, a place which many great emperors found it impracticable to conquer. Several histories state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khurâsân, who for their disloyal and rebellious conduct had been long before banished the country by Afrasâyâb, Emperor of Turan". (Ibid).

The *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* of Badaoni, while speaking of Ibrahim (Saiyyidu-s-Salâtin Ibrahim ibn Masûd ibn Mahmûd) says thus:—He "went to Hindustan and conquered many fortresses and districts. From one city (Darra) the inhabitants of which were of Khurâsânian descent, whom (Afrâsiâb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustan, he took prisoners, a hundred thousand persons, and sent them to Ghaznin" (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawârikh*, translated by George S. A. Ranking, (1898) Vol. I, pp. 51-52. For the Persian text, vide *Bibliotheca Indica*, Maulavi Ahmad Ali's Text. Vol. I, p. 35).

Ferishta says of Sultan Ibrahim: "The King marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Dera, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorassan and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state; and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours, by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. The King, having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards Dera, which was well fortified. . . . As soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith. Sooltan Ibraheem's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Mahomedans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons whom they carried in bonds to Ghizny" (Briggs' *Ferishta* (1908) Vol. I, pp. 139-40). The text which refers to Afrasiâb runs as follows:—

که افراسیاب از سرکندی ایشان بشک آمده با زن و فرزند ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و
پهندستان فرستاده

The place named by the above historians is Dera or Derapur. Elliot says, it may be Derabend, near Torbela on the Upper Indus, or Dehrâ of Dehra Dun (Elliot V, p. 561). Though the place cannot be identified with certainty, there is no doubt that it is a place in the Punjab. As to the event, as said by Elliot (Ibid p. 561), "All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Afrasyab; and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from

Khurâsân seems to indicate the existence of a colony of fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country" (Ibid p. 561-2).

We read the following in the Memoirs or Autobiography of Timur, known as the *Malfuzât-i-Timuri* (ملفوظات تیموری *i.e.* the Words of Timur) or *Tuzak-i-Timuri* (توزکة تیموری *i.e.* the Institutes or Regulations of Timur):—"Next day, the 23rd of the month, I started from the fort of Aspandi, and after marching six *kos* arrived at the village of Tughlik-pur. I encamped opposite the fort bearing that name. The people of the fort on hearing of the approach of my army, had abandoned it, and had dispersed over the country. From the information supplied to me I learned that these people were called *Sanawi* (fire-worshippers). Many of this perverse creed believe that there are two gods, one is called Yazdân, and whatever they have of good they believe to proceed from him. The other god they call Ahriman, and whatever sin and wickedness they are guilty of, they consider Ahriman to be the author of. These mis-believers do not know that whatsoever there is of good or evil comes from God and that man is the mere instrument of its execution. I ordered the houses of these heretics to be fired, and their fort and buildings to be raised to the ground," (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 431).

Maulânâ Sharaf-ud-din Ali Yazdi, who died A.D. 1446, in his *Zafarnamêh i. e.* The Book of Victory, which gives an account of the victories of Timur during his invasion of India, (A.D. 1398), thus describes the above event: "On the 22nd they arrived at the fort of Asandi several *kos* from Kaital. The inhabitants of Sâmana, Kaital and Asandi who were mostly fire-worshippers, burned their houses and fled to Delhi, so that none of them were met with. On the 23rd they marched from Asandi and arrived at the fort of Tughlikpur, six *kos* distant. The infidels of this place belonged to the religion of the Magi (*sanawiya*) whose eyes had never been enlightened with the rays of the true religion. In the belief of these people there are two gods, one called Yazdân, the other Ahriman whom they typify by light and darkness. They suppose all good to proceed from the one and all evil from the other. The people of this place who were also called Sâlûn had left it empty and fled. The soldiers set fire to the place and reduced it to ashes." (Elliot III, 494).

One of the places in the above two passages of the reign of Timur is named Aspandi in the Memoirs of Timur himself and Asandi by his biographer. If it is Aspandi, I think it may have some connection with the name of Aspandyâr, who is mentioned by Firdousi and others to have come to India to spread the religion of Zoroaster.

Referring to these passages, Elliot says:—"We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of fire-worshippers in Upper India as late as the invasion of Timur A. D. 1398-9. There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe which had been expelled by Afrâsyâb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibrahim the Ghaznvide attacked in A. D. 1079, were a colony of fire-worshippers from Iran, who if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster" (Elliot V. p. 563).

From these passages, we see that, the references by Ebn Haukal and others to a Parsee population in Hind, seem to point to the pre-Sassanian colonies and not to the post-Sassanian ones.

Elliot refers to the double use of the word *Gabr* by Mahomedan authors and asks us to be cautious. They use, the word, at times, *generally* for all who do not follow the Mahomedan creed and *especially* for the Parsees. So, we must not, conclude at once, that wherever the word *Gabr* is used, it is for the Parsees. We must note, what Elliot says about some of the places, said to have been occupied by Gabres. He says: "But the people alluded to by them (Sharafu-d-din, Khondamir and the other historians of Timur's expedition to India) need not have been colonies of refugees, fleeing from Muhammadan bigotry and persecution.

The word *Gabr* not always used for Parsees.

There are other modes of accounting for their existence in these parts. They may have been Indian converts to the doctrine of Zoroaster, for we read that not only had he secret communication with the Brahmans of India, but when his religion was fully established, he endeavoured to gain proselytes in India and succeeded in converting a learned Brahman, called Tehengrighatchah by Anquetil du Perron (*Zend Avesta* Vol. I, P. 2; pp. 69-70) who returned to his native country with a great number of priests." (Elliot Vol. V, p. 567).

This indiscriminate use and signification of the word *Gabr* seems to have misled a geographer like Ritter. Elliot thus speaks of Ritter's misunderstanding: "Ritter entertains the supposition, that as the Khilji family came from the highlands which afforded a shelter to this persecuted race, they may have a leaning to these doctrines, and he offers a suggestion, that the new religion which Alaudin wished to promulgate may have been that of Zoroaster, and that this will account for the Punjâb and the Doâb being full of his votaries at the time of Timur's invasion. But this is a very improbable supposition, and he has laid too much stress upon the use of the word *Gabr*, which, if taken in the exclusive sense adopted by him, would show not only that these tracts were entirely occupied by fire-worshippers, but that Hindus were to be found in very few places in either of them (Elliot V, p. 568).

Let us also note in this connection, what M. Reinaud says: "There existed valuable evidence on (the subject of) India in the writings of the Arabs and the Persians. In fact, these writings are all posterior to Mahomed, and the most ancient date from the commencement of the 8th century of our era—the time when the Arabs, carrying, as they said, the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, invaded a great part of the ancient world. But these evidences are from weighty persons, several of whom spoke of what they themselves had seen and heard. From the middle of the 7th century, the Musalmans had subdued Persia and had approached the Oxus and the Indus. At the commencement of the 8th century, they found themselves mixed up with the Brahminist and Buddhist populations, who had then divided among themselves the valley of the Indus." (I translate from Reinaud's "*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Tome I (1848) CCCXXVI).

We learn from this passage, based on the authority of Arab and Persian writers of the time, that it was the country watered by the Indus that was the first victim of the victorious Mahomedans who marched towards the east after the conquest of Persia. I leave it then to you to reconsider your line of argument, and to say, if it was possible for the Parsees to establish a colony of their own in Gujarat, which, though subject to occasional raids, was at that time free from Mahomedan occupation, or in Sind and Punjab which were threatened, and even occupied to a certain extent, by the Mahomedans.

M. A. Troyer (*Râdjatarangini*, *Histoire des Rois du Kachmir* (1840) Tome II, pp. 449-450) gives "a sketch of the principal enterprises with which the Mahomedans preluded their conquest of India." We see from it, that Sind and Punjab were the first places, where the Arabs, after their conquest of Persia, sent expeditions after expeditions up to nearly the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. I would also refer you to a summary of the history of Sind as given in the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (1907, pp. 89-91) by Mr. E. H. Aitken. It says that the new religion (Mahomedanism) "was spreading like a prairie fire." The storm of Arab invasion burst in 711 A. D. and their rule continued long. "The conversion of the people, which was the foremost aim of the early Arab conquerors and by far the most permanent result of their conquests, probably proceeded fitfully" (Ibid p. 91). So, Sind and Punjab seem to be the last places, where the Parsees could have fled and settled in peace. Gujarat, being long free from occupation, was therefore the safer place to found a colony and to prosper.

In your fourth particular, you say: "There is evidence to show that in the year 324 Yezdegardi or about A. D. 955 there was a flourishing maktab and fire-temple in Broach. This shows that from the early centuries of the Yezdegardi

⁴ The Fire temple at Broach.

era there was a considerable population of Parsees in Broach and not merely after A. D. 1090 as the Kisseh-i-Sanjan states.”

In connection with this statement, you seem to forget what is stated in your own Journal of October 1914 (Vol. IV. pp. 221-235). Therein, Professor Hodiwala shows, that “There is no trustworthy evidence of the existence of a Parsi fire-temple at Broach in 324 A. Y. 955 A. D. (Ibid. p. 234.)” He seems to think that the date in question is 624 Yazdagardi (i. e. 1255 A. D.). But even take it for granted, that there was a Parsee Fire-temple in Broach in 955 A. D. How does that show, that the statement of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan is incorrect? The Kisseh says, that at or about the period of about 300 years after the sojourn to Sanjan, the Parsees dispersed in different directions to Vankaner, Broach, Variav, Aklesar, Cambay and Naosari. You must know, that the Kisseh itself does not give exactly any year corresponding to 1090. Again, it does not say that *all* went at once in that year (about 300 years after the advent to Sanjan) to these different towns. What it simply means to say is, that, at or about that time, there began a *general* dispersion to different quarters. One may also understand the passage in the Kisseh to mean that they had left and dispersed by the time 300 years had elapsed, i. e., within 300 years. But that does not at all preclude the possibility or the probability of some Parsees going to Broach and living there, and even founding a fire-temple there. Let us take an instance. We know, that the Parsees first began coming to Bombay from 1640, when the city was possessed by the Portuguese. In about 1673, they had a Tower here. In a few years more, they had a fire-temple here. Now, suppose that a Parsee chronicler had written in 1800 A. D. that “in his time owing to a change in the shipping facilities at Surat, and owing to better facilities in Bombay, the Parsees at Surat dispersed and went to Bombay and other places.” Will you be justified in saying, that the Parsee chronicler was wrong and that his chronicles were merely imaginary, because other evidences showed that the Parsees had a Tower of Silence and a Fire-temple in Bombay in about 1673? The Chronicle may speak of a *general* dispersion which does not preclude previous departures of small numbers. In this, as in many other subjects or “particulars,” you are fighting against imaginary ghosts of inaccuracies.

On the authority of a manuscript of the Vendidad, in a post-script of which the town of ^{5 The Town of Uch. Westergaard's doubts about it.} **۱۹۳** is mentioned, you say: “In A.D. 1185, a copy of the Vendidad was brought from Seistan to Uch in Sind, where there was a population of Zoroastrians. This manuscript was subsequently brought into Gujerat and transcribed there. It is probable that after the destruction of Uch in 1223 the Parsis of Uch migrated southwards towards Gujerat.”

You say all this on the authority of Mr. Nadirsha, who, referring to a Pahlavi Ms. of the Vendidad, written in 722 Yazda-zardi (1353 A.D.), writes as follows on the subject:—

“વેહેલની ભાષામાં આપેલી એ કેતાબની વિગત પરથી જણાય છે કે તેની અસલ નકલ સીસ્તાનમાં ય. સ. ૫૫૪ (ઈ. સ. ૧૧૮૫) માં અરદશીર બહમને કીચી હતી તે સીંધુ નદી (પંજ નદ) પર આવેલાં ‘બિહ’ શહેરમાંથી એરવદ માહીયાર માહમેદર પોતાના ઉસ્તાદના હોકમથી અને અરવે સીસ્તાન જઈ ત્યાંનાં એરવદા પાસે છ વરષ દીનેતો અને ખીજે અભ્યાસ કરી મજકુર કોપનહેગનવાલી વંદીદાદની અસલ નકલ પોતાની સાથે હિન્દુસ્તાન લાવ્યો હતો.....બીલી વિગત પરથી જણાય છે કે સીંધુ નદી પર આવેલાં બિહ નામના સીંધનાં એક શહેરમા ઈ. સ. ૧૧૮૫ સુધી જરથોશ્તીઓની એક સારી વસ્તી હતી.....ઈ. સ. ૧૧૮૫ પછી બિહ શહેરનાં જરથોશ્તીઓનું શું થયું તે જણાતું નથી.....એવું અનુમાન કરી શકાય છે કે એ મુદત દરમ્યાન અને ઘણું કરી ઈ. સ. ૧૨૨૩ માં બિહના જરથોશ્તીઓ નીચે ગુજરાત તરફ નીકરી આવી સીંધ પંજાબમાંની અસલી જરથોશ્તીઓની વસતી ખતમ કરી હશે.” (Journal Iran. Ass. Dec. 1916, pp. 171-72).

It was Westergaard who first drew our attention to the above Ms. (Zend Avasta Preface, pp. 3-4). He thus refers to it: “The postscript to K₁ informs us hereon: that Ardeshir, son of Bahman, copied this book by the hand of Herbad Humâst (?) in the town of Yazd-stân A.Y. 554 (A.D. 1184); by command of the teacher, Mâhdad Athorne, who is always *greater*

than I, Herbad Mäh-yâr travelled from India from the town 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 , lying on the shore of the river Sind, which in their religious books is called the good river; he stayed for six years with the Herbads in Yazd-stân, where he learned some religion and returned then to India; with him came thither this book Juddivdâd with the translation (Zand), of which he had taken an accurate copy. The time is not stated, but it must of course have been 1184-1323."

A copy of this Copenhagen manuscript (K₁) is in the late Dastur Jamaspji's Library in Bombay and his grand son Nâeb-Dastur Minocheher Kaikushro has kindly lent it to me for inspection. A careful perusal of the postscript given therein shows, that Westergaard's rendering of it is not altogether correct. Agâin Mr. Nadirsha has taken unwarranted liberties with it.

Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab Peshotun Sanjana has given the postscript in the original Pahlavi in his Pahlavi Text of the Vendidad with its translation (Introduction pp. XXXVI-XLI). He thus translates the post-script from the original Pahlavi of the Copenhagen Ms., supplied to him by the late Dr. E. W. West.

"Completely finished with gratification, pleasure, and joy, this volume in the month of Tir in the year 554, on the auspicious day of Srôsh, which was written by Artakhshîr, son of Vohûman, son of Rûzevêh, son of Shah-burzin, son of Shah-mard (of whom may the soul be immortal!) from the manuscript of the immortal-souled high-priest Hômâst, son of Shâdân, who shares in the joys of Paradise, and is son of Aûharmazda. In the province of Sagistân it was written by the command of the teacher ever of great proficiency, of a beautiful body, and from a family worthy of praise, (of whom may the soul be immortal!) Mâh-dâd, son of Âtarôvêh, the leader, out of an accumulation of whose wealth it was done for Mâh-yâr, son of Mâh-mitrô, a priest from India, from the district of Aûchak which is located on the bank of the water of Sind, which in the religious writings is called the *Veh-Rud* 'Good River.' He lived for six years in the company of the priests of Sagistan, and any religious matter taught to him came through him to India. Likewise, this book of the Vendidad with commentary, came to this quarter (*kôstê*) from him, and was obtained by him from there as a righteous gift (*ashôdâd*). The leader of those several (priests) who lived that day in that quarter, was Shah-mard, son of Mah-yâr, the high priest; the Shah-mard, son of Mâh-yâr, son of Shah-Zad, son of Mitrô.jiv, revised this volume and made it exact."

No two Pahlavi scholars agree, at times, in the matter of the translation of some difficult Pahlavi passages. The above post-script is an example of that kind. You will find from the three versions—of Mr. Nadirsha, Westergaard and Dastur Darab that they all differ. They differ even as to the scribes. But in spite of all that, any Pahlavi student will see, that Mr. Nadirsha has no justification to say from the mere mention of Uchch or of whatever name it may be, that there was a large population of Zoroastrians at that place in 1185 (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 नामनी सीधनी अक शहेरमां ह. स. ११८५ सुधी जराथोश्रीअमानी अक सारी वस्ती हती). The Pahlavi colophon simply says: "Pavan Mäh-yâr-i Mâh-Mitrô aêrpat min Hindûkân min Auchak (?) Shatrô mûn pavan kenâr-i maya-i Sind." It simply says, that the priest Mahyâr was from the city of Auchak (?).

Again, the reading of the town-name is doubtful. I have before me the Ms. copy of the late Dastur Jamaspji referred to by Mr. Nadirsha. It is written in 1135 Yazdazardi (1766 A.D.) by Dastur Jamshed (1732-1787), son of Dastur Jamasp Asa in Naosari (Vide the last colophons in Persian, Sanskrit, and Pahlavi at the end). Herein, the name of the town is not exactly as what we see in the Ms. K₁ which Dastur Darab has quoted, but is given as 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 , (f. 204a

13). The letters 𐬨 seem to have been latterly added. But I refer to this fact to show, that the reading was doubted by the copyist, Dastur Jamshed or some body else.

Again, I have before me another Ms. older than that of Dastur Jamshed. It belongs to Ervad Manockji R. Unwala and was written by Dastur Rustam Behram, one of the ancestors of Dastur Edalji Sanjana (1719-1791) in 1108 Yazdazardi (1739 A.D.) *i. e.* about 27 years before the above manuscript (*Vide* the colophon in the very beginning). In this manuscript the name of the town is written as دئو شهر , and some body has written under it in Persian دئو شهر *i. e.* the city of Diu (last but two folio l. 10). Please let it be noted clearly, that I do not want to suggest one name or another. What I mean to say is, that one is not justified to raise a flimsy structure on a word, on a single word, the reading of which is doubtful and the signification of which is doubted by learned scribes.

Prof. Westergaard himself, who first referred to the manuscript (Zend Avesta, Preface, p. 3 and note 4), is not sure of his reading or identification. He says: "I am not sure, how the Pehlevi name is to be read, the first character being composed of U A, H, Kh., and V V, N, R. It may be read Uchah, mentioned as the name of a town in Burhân-i-qâtia' but without any more particulars, nor do I know any such town, unless it should be Uch, which however is not situated on the Indus, but at the junction of the rivers of Panjâb before joining the Indus. No town on the Indus is mentioned among the earlier abodes of the Parsis in India."

You will see from this passage, wherein I have italicized some words, that Westergaard himself, whose reference to the Ms. seems to have led Mr. Nadirsha to refer to this point, had doubts (a) about the very reading of the name of the town. (b) Again, even if read in one way, he had doubts about the identification of the town, because, if read as Uchah, he did not know of any such town and, if read as Uch, that town was not situated on the river Sind. Notwithstanding all this, according to the proverb دو چوبه یه چوبه , in the absence of any good evidence to support the destructive line of attitude you have been pleased to take, you, as it were, cling to mere straws. Here is another instance of how you, gentlemen, and your authorities, try to cling to mere straws. Sir James Campbell simply expressed doubts about the Mahmud of the Kisseh being Mahmud Begadâ and the Alaf Khan being his general. Mr. Pallonji Desai, and following him Mr. Nadirsha, and following him you, one after another, jump at the doubt, as if Campbell spoke with certainty. Campbell spoke hesitatingly about Amir Khusro's *gabrs*, himself saying, that one was not to depend upon the use of the word, and you all seem to jump at the doubtful suggestion, as if it were a certainty. The present is another instance. Like good scholars, Westergaard and Campbell do not speak dogmatically, but speak hesitatingly; but you all, gentlemen, jump at their doubts, as if their doubts were strong arguments.

Again, scholars are not sure, as to what country was meant by that of the river Sind Doubts about the river Sind on which Uch is said to have been situated. by old Parsee writers. The country of Sind is mentioned in the Bundelesh (Chap. XV 29). Dr. West says of it: "Bactria or any part of north-western India may be intended; wherever Brahmins and Buddhists existed (as they did in Bactria) was considered a part of India in Sasanian times" (S. B. E. Vol. V. p. 59 n 4). Again, note, what Dr. West says elsewhere, when translating the chapter on rivers in the Bundelesh. The Bundelesh says: "The Veh river passes on in the east, goes through the land of Sind, and flows to the sea in Hindustan, and they call it there the Mehrâ river" (Chap. XX, 9). In a footnote on the Veh river, Dr. West says that it is "the good river, which, with the Arag and the ocean, completes the circuit of the known world and is evidently identified with the Indus; sometimes it seems also to include Âmû (Oxus), as Bactria was considered a part of India" (S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 77 n. 7).

But, for the sake of argument, I would even lay aside the question of doubts, and accept the reading of the name as Uch and even admit that the place is in modern Sind. I then beg to ask: How does the mere mention of the name of Uch in the colophon of a Parsee manuscript show, that there was a good Parsee colony at Uch? In the preface of one of my

publications (Dnyân Prasarak Essays Part II), I have put down the name of the place, where I wrote the preface on 22nd May 1905, as "Himalaya, Nâlkanda." I was the only Parsee there, where I had gone on a short excursion from Simla. Will any one be justified, a few centuries after to-day, in concluding from this single book of mine, that "there must be a large Parsee population at Nalkanda, about 50 miles from Simla in the Himalayas, in the 20th century, because a Parsee's book was found which gave that name and that date'".

But I waive that point also, as not being very material, and ask: How does that show, that the Kisseh-i-Sanjan is incorrect or that the fact of the settlement of the Sanjan colony is incorrect? Rather, your argument goes to prove the fact. The Kisseh-i-Sanjan does not at all preclude the probability of other bands of Parsee refugees or of other Parsee places of retreat. The fact of such other retreats, like those in the Panjab and China, should go to point to the probability of the Sanjan colony as well. You yourselves say: "It is probable that after the destruction of Uech in 1223, the Parsis of Uech migrated southwards towards Gujerat." The greater then the reason to commemorate the great event of the first Parsee Exodus after the death of Yazdazard to the hospitable shores of Gujerat, which served, as it were, as a further rendezvous or place of Refuge for the Parsees of your other settlements of Sind and Hind. When your settlements in Sind, Panjab, and elsewhere vanished, that founded on the hospitable shores of Gujerat under the protection of Jadi Rana, whoever that king may be, flourished; and not only that, but it sheltered its co-religionists of other places driven to despair and flight. Strange, that it is the movement in honour of such an event, that you now oppose!

You build castles in the air on the mere mention of a name in a manuscript by an European scholar, *who himself doubted* the reading and identification. You accept his doubtful reading and even his doubtful identification, but your refuse to believe the statements of one of your own learned Dasturs—statements based on, and connected with, a number of historically supported statements, resting on a rock-like strong ground-work viz, the statement of the historical event of the conquest of Champaner by the Moslems referred to by various Mahomedan and Hindu authors. I am surprised at this unpatriotic bent of mind and at this strange way of weighing evidence.

Following the authority of Mr. Nadirsha, you refer to Nariman Hoshang's Revayet of 1478, as if the land-route via Seistan and Panjab was the only route taken by the Parsees to come from, and go to, Persia. But there are several facts to be taken into consideration for this matter.

(a) We have the authority of an old geographer to say, that voyages between Persia and India were not so difficult as suggested by you on the authority of Mr. Nadirsha. M. Reinaud, on the strength of his study of old geographers, says, that in those early centuries upto the 10th century, even Chinese ships went to Persia and Persian ships went to China (*Les jonques chinoises vinrent dans les ports de l'Arabie et de la Perse, et les navires arabes et persans se rendirent sur les côtes du Céleste empire*" (Reinaud's *Géographie D'Aboul Feda*, Tome I p. CCCLXXXIII). The fact, that there existed some trade relations of old, between Persia and India by sea, seems in itself to be one of the reasons, why, the Parsees, under the stress of difficulties, came to India's hospitable shore. As pointed out by Mr. Reinaud, on the authority of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tshang, in the early part of the seventh century, the relations between Sassanian Persia and India were so close, that the principal cities of Persia had colonies of Hindus who followed their own religion freely (Reinaud's *Géographie D'Aboul Feda*, Tome, I (1848) p. CCCLXXXIV, Introduction III).

Cosmas Indico-pleustes, an Egyptian merchant and monk, who in the time of Naoshirwan, visited India in the early part of the 6th century, in his work "*Topographia Christiana*" i. e. *Christian Topography*, written in about 535 A.D., refers to merchantile relations existing between India and Persia (Yule's *Cathay*, 1st ed. Vol. I, pp. CLXXVII—CLXXIX). He refers to Kallian in the Thana district as a place of trade, and even

says that Persia, which tolerated Christianity, nominated the Christian Bishop at that place (Ibid CLXXI). There was a rivalry at the time for trade with India between the Romans and the Persians; and the Romans were said to have won the favour of the Indian king by the superiority of their coins (nomisma) over the Persian *dirhem* (Ibid CLXXIX). Some time after the time of Cosmas, the superiority of trade passed from the hands of the Romans to those of the Persians. Reinaud thus speaks on the subject (I translate from his *Géographie D' Aboul Feda* I p. CCCLXXXIII): "In the time of Cosmas, the glory of the Roman name, which had, during a large number of centuries, held the first place in Oriental seas began to diminish. Procopius, who wrote several years later, said that the Persians had made themselves masters of the markets of the East." Thus, it was these mutual good relations, relations of trade and mutual hospitality, that seem to have made it possible for the fugitive Parsees to turn to Western India for safety from persecution and for a permanent settlement. The piracy, you speak of, continued off and on upto two or three centuries before our time, but that did not stop communications between Persia and India.

(b) Your authority refers to a Revayet of A. D. 1478, but the event of the arrival of the Parsee band took place about *seven* centuries before that date. You ought to refer, *not* to a book of the 15th century, but to books of the 8th and 9th centuries to show, that the land route pointed out by you was the *only* route.

(c) Again, if you think, that you are right in taking as your authority, a Revayet of 1478 to favour your view of the land-route, I can produce against that, the authority of a Revayet of 1626, the Revayet of Bahman Aspandyâr, from Turkabad, which speaks of the messenger having gone to Persia by the sea-route (براه کشتی و توان دریا آمده بود) (Bombay University Ms. of Darab Hormuzdyar's Revayet, Vol. I, f. 69). When we see from this Revayet, that a journey to and from an inland town like Turkabad, was undertaken by the sea-route, why should the first Parsee settlers who came from the sea-coast town of Hormuz, not take the ordinary easy sea-route?

(d) Again, look to the wording of the Revayat which you name as your authority. In your own words, "the route from Kandahar to Seistan they described as short, and from Seistan to Yezd as quite safe." There seems to have been the question of safety. We know, that even now-a-days, a particular short route, being infested with bandits and robbers, may not for a particular year or a particular period, be safe; and so, people may resort to longer routes for the sake of safety. For example, in the present war, to avoid the risks in the Mediterranean, people going to and coming from England, may take the Cape-route. So, the sea-route may not be safe at that particular time, and therefore, the land-route may have been recommended; or there may have been some other reasons. After all, the point is, that, if a writer in 1478 recommended, for some reason or another, the land route for communication with an inland town, like Yezd, that does not prove, that people coming to India from Persia, in the 8th century, and from a sea coast town, could not come by the sea-route.

(e) You say, that "what little has come to light renders it probable that the bulk of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia came to India by way of Beluchistan, Punjab and Sind rather than by sea, and that they gradually gravitated to Gujerat and the ports of the western coast for purposes chiefly of trade. It is not impossible of course that some emigrants from Persia might have come to India by the sea route." This is one of your several vague unsupported assertions. You are prepared to doubt the authority of the writing of a learned Dastur of your community who wrote about 317 years ago and said that they came by the sea-route, but you dare to assert from "what little has come to light" that "the bulk of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia came to India by way of Beluchistan, Punjab and Sind rather than by sea." Surely the definite statement of a learned Dastur of the 16th century, supported by a number of authorities, is more entitled to evidence than your vague unsupported statements based on your "little light."

(f) Following the gentleman, to whose paper you refer in your letter, you attach some importance to the fact, that the messenger, who brought to India the Revayet of 1478, came by land via Seistan. But you forget one, and *that* the most important, point, viz., that the band of the first emigrants had, at the first stage, already retreated to the sea-town of Hormuz. So, the nearest and the safest way for them to come to India was by the sea-route and not by the land-route. It is more easy to come from the sea-town of Hormuz to the coast of India by sea, than by land. To go back from Hormuz to Seistan, and then to go thence to the Punjab and then to come by land to Gujarat, is a very long and troublesome method. So, I request you to substantiate by books or documents, or even by an old scrap of paper, that the first Parsee colony at Sanjan had come via Punjab. Our inscription only takes a note of the first emigrants settling at Sanjan, but it does not at all preclude the possibility or the probability of some Parsees from, or via Punjab having joined the above Sanjan colony at some later time for the purpose of trade. It does not even preclude the possibility of some stray Parsees having come to the coast of Gujarat for trade purposes even before this time. You seem to have altogether missed the main point, that the column aims at commemorating the event of the coming of the Parsees to the hospitable shores of India at the downfall of the Sassanian Empire.

You say: "In the first and second centuries of the Yezdegardi era, when the Kissah-i-
 7 The Risks of the sea route. Sanjan states that our ancestors were on their way to India by sea from the island of Ormuz, there were frequent attacks led by Arabs from the sea upon Sind and Gujerat. These attacks continued from A. D. 631 to 776 and render it improbable that any considerable body of Parsees could have migrated to India by sea during the first two centuries after the fall of the Persian Empire. . . . The route from Kandahar to Seistan they described as short and from Seistan to Yezd as quite safe." This is a very weak argument to support your view that the Parsees may have come to Sanjan not by the sea-route but by the land-route.

(a) In the first place, we know that piracies and brigandages do not often deter people from voyages and journies. We know, that in the present war, in spite of great difficulties and dangers from submarines and torpedoes, trade and intercourse between Europe and Asia have continued. Well-nigh the same may be taken to have been the case, and was the case, in the midst of the piracies of those times.

(b) I would again draw your attention to what I have said above, on the authority of M. Reinaud and M. Troyer that there was greater danger from the Arabs on the Sind and Punjaub side than on the Western sea-coast.

(c) Again, you seem to forget, that the emigrants were already in danger—both of their life and religion,—in danger sure and certain. To avoid the danger in their country, they had fled to the sea-coast town of Hormuz. The danger continued there, and so, they left that town for India. Under the circumstances, there remained the choice of continuing at Hormuz under a difficulty and danger, sure and certain, or of meeting another, a little less certain, where, at the most, what they could lose was their property, not their religion. It is natural that they chose the latter. But, taking it for granted, that the danger from the sea pirates was very great, the greater the honour due to their memory. It is brave men who often dare to meet such dangers. If our ancestors risked what was near and dear to them for the sake of their religion, the more worthy of our recognition is their sacred memory.

You say that "the recent archæological discoveries of Dr. Spooner in Northern India
 8 The Archæological discoveries. show that migrations of the Zoroastrian Magi from Persia into India date from remote antiquity and establish the fact of frequent communication between the two countries which no doubt continued after the fall of the Persian Empire." I do not deny what you say. But it is not the archæological discoveries themselves that show the above fact. It is Dr. Spooner's study, his literary work which appears in his learned papers in the Journal R. A. S. that refers more to this fact. The fact of the frequent communication

between India and Persia is no new fact coming to light. Your own Avesta and Pahlavi books, Firdousi and other Arab and Persian writers, and classical authors like Herodotus, Strabo and others, have shown that to us long ago. In fact, much of the strength of Dr. Spooner's theory and views rests on the fact of these older writings. I have dwelt elsewhere, on the subject of the influence of Iran upon India, giving and collecting some constructive facts which go to support some of Dr. Spooner's statements. But, as neither we, nor the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, deny the fact, I do not understand, how the subject affects the present question. Here again, your argument shows a strange bent of mind. You easily and quickly attach importance to the study of a foreign scholar, some of whose views have been thrown, as it were, a bombshell, among a number of scholars and among many of the Indian people, and are still in the crucible of examination and verification, but you throw doubts upon the statements of one of your own learned Dasturs,—statements, written in black and white about 317 years ago, statements supported on historical grounds and probabilities and acknowledged by a number of well-known travellers and historians.

But here, I would repeat the question, asked by me more than once: "Where are the remnants or the relics of those early pre-Sassanian or post-Sassanian colonies?" They all have disappeared. It is the Gujarat colony that has continued and thrived, at first, under the early hospitable Hindu rulers and then under the benign British rulers; and it is the event of the settlement of that colony, which we are going to commemorate, but which you oppose, though you yourself admit that some of the remnants of your Punjab colonies may have migrated to the Sanjan colony.

Your quotation from Ebn Haukal shows, that, according to him, some parts of Hind and Sind belonged to Guebres or Parsees. I have spoken above, at some length, on the subject of Sind and Hind, on Parsee places there, and on the word Gabr. My reply in the matter of this particular is the same as that in the case of particular No. 3. Kindly point out that part of Hind or Sind referred to by Ebn Haukal. By all means, appoint a committee or committees to trace that part, and try to mark out the places, if identified, with a Memorial Column or Tablet. That will be a proper Iranian constructive work, and many like me will be pleased to pay their mite for the purpose. But, why should useful and intelligent energy be wasted after destructive work and destructive criticism. We are now dealing with actual facts and events which have left us their souvenirs in the present prosperous Parsee population of India, and let us, in our own humble way, do something to commemorate these events.

You seem to imply, that, as a number of Parsees continued to live in Persia and even in Sind, long after the Arab Conquest, the fact of some Parsees coming to Sanjan is doubtful. In support, you refer to Ebn Haukal. Now, please note, what a great traveller and scholar like Sir John Ousley says on this subject of some of Ebn Haukal's statements. He says: "During the first ages of Mahomedan domination in that country, it was probably thought dangerous to excite the religious animosity of a whole nation by persecution, too violent or universal. We accordingly find that in the tenth century of our era when Ebn Haukal visited Pars, there was not any District of that province nor village without a Fire-Temple. . . . Yet in his time however numerous those edifices, we find that the work of demolition had commenced and that the Behedins *continued* to emigrate from their Native country to Hindustân, where secure from Mahomedan oppression they adored God after the manner of their forefathers, and obtained that highly honourable character which their descendants still enjoy." (Travels in Persia, Vol. I, pp. 143-44). This statement of Ousley refutes the assumption of Mr. Nadirsha. It was no love for the Parsees or for their religion that permitted their stay in Persia at first, but a piece of diplomacy. "It appears that about the year 766, Persia having been a prey to the ferocious Arabs above one century and a half, various families of Fire-worshippers, who had retreated to Hormuz, embarked there for the coast of India and landed first at Diu in Gujerat, whence they soon after extended

⁹ The Parsee colonies referred to by Ebn Haukal (902-968.)

Ousley on Ebn Haukal.

their establishments in successive ramifications to Sanjan and Cambay, to Broach, Nausar and Daman, places near Surat ; and in process of time to Bombay." (Ibid).

I will conclude my reply, with a few extracts from well-known travellers and writers to dispel doubts and to show, that our poor co-religionists have all along generally led a miserable life in Persia, while we here have continued to prosper. If not as any thing else, our column at Sanjan will stand as a Monument of Thanks-giving to Providence who helped us here in this country. It will also stand as a symbol of gratitude to the great Hindu Nation, who welcomed us and helped us. It will further stand as a symbol of gratitude for our present prosperity under the British Government that has made the creation of the Column possible for us.

Please compare what these travellers in Persia say about the condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia with our condition in India, and then you will be able to realize the fact, that it was fortunate that the old Parsee Pilgrim farthers left Persia in time for Hindustan.

First of all, please read what our co-religionists of Irân said in 1478, in the Revâyat known as the first Revâyat of Nariman Hoshang, the very Revâyat to which you refer, and then you will realize the advantage of the foresight of our forefathers which brought them to India. The writers complain that they suffer much and that they are reminded of the tyrannical times of Zohak, Afrasyâb, Tur (Baratur) and Alexander. در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سختتر و دشوار تر ازین هزاره سرپیشم نبوده است و نه از دور فضحاک نازی و نه افراسیاب توری و نه تور جادو و نه سکندر یونانی
(Ervad Manockji R. Unwala's Ms. of the Revâyat of Burzo Kamdin, fol. 165 a. 1. 18.)

Translation.—During the whole time that has passed since (the time of) Kayomars upto now, there has been no time more hard and more difficult than that of the present millenium of Haêshm (Av. Aêshma, the Demon of Wrath and Destruction); not even the times of Zohak the Tâzi, Afrassiâb the Turk, Tur the Magician or Alexander the Greek (have been as hard as the present).

Pietro della Valle, who visited India in 1623 and who travelled in Persia from 1616 to 1623, speaks of the Zoroastrians of Persia as living in very poor circumstances and under difficulties. In his third letter from Persia, dated Hispan December 8, 1617, he says: "None of the houses (of the Guebres) however have more than a ground floor, and all are destitute of ornament, corresponding with the poverty of their inhabitants The Guebres follow no trade but earn their livelihood by rustic occupations with much labour and fatigue" (John Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages and Travels (1811) Vol. IX, p. 32).

Jean (John) Chardin (1643-1713) was a well-known traveller and writer. His "Voyages en Perse" is held as an authoritative work by subsequent writers and has gone through several editions. He thus speaks of the poor conditions of the Persian Parsees:—"There remain now only a very small number of Guebres or Parsees. These ancient inhabitants of Persia, faithful to the religion of their fathers, have been exterminated by fanatic Musulmans; and the numerous villages on the south of Ispahan which they occupied have been destroyed in the last civil wars of Persia. The feeble remnants of the inhabitants of these villages have taken a refuge in the environs of Yezd and in the province of Kirman" (I translate from "Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse" 2nd. edition (1811) Vol. X, p. 242).

While speaking of the Coronation of Solyman III King of Persia, of Ispahan, and of the impositions that the different people there gave to the king, he thus speaks of the poor condition of the Parsees there:—"The Guebres, who are the ancient Persians or Fire Worshipers, and who live at the farthest end of the Town, were wholly discharged upon their pleading

Poverty ; it being well known that they were a miserable sort of People, and under great distress." (The Travels of Sir John Chardin (1686), Appendix. The Coronation of Solyman III, p. 98).

M. Daulier, who travelled in Persia in 1665, while speaking of the Guebres of Guebrabad near Julpha, says, that they were destroyed in many other places before being given a quarter there (" detruits en beaucoup d'autres-endoits." (Les Beautés de la Perse, p. 51, quoted by Mademoiselle Menant, in her " Les Parsis," p. 29).

Sir Robert Ker-Porter, a well-known traveller, who travelled in Persia and the surrounding countries from 1818 to 1820, while speaking of the battle of Nehavand says :—" That day, the sceptre of Darius passed into the grasp of an Arabian caliph, and the temples of Zoroaster sunk before the mosques of Mahomet After the final defeat of the Mithratic king, the victorious army of the caliph over-ran the whole empire ; destroying with bigot fury every memorial of past greatness, every symbol of what had hitherto been deemed sacred in that unhappy land. A large proportion of the inhabitants, preferring a new creed and their old possessions, to their old faith with poverty and oppression, swore allegiance to the laws, civil and religious, of the prophet of Mecca. Others, disdaining to barter the faith of their fathers, for any favour in the eyes of their enemies, retired, self-exiled, into distant countries. Some few indeed, poor, and stedfast to their creed, not having it in their power to seek a distant asylum, remained in a kind of bondage on their native soil worshipping the bright luminary of heaven, with eyes ever bent to the ground, and pouring tears for lustral water on its dishonoured shrines. Whilst the richer multitudes fled to the mountainous frontiers, or to the shores of India, this devoted remnant found a sort of hopeless security in their poverty and utter wretchedness ; and wandering away to Yezd and Kerman, as places least in the notice of their conqueror, sought and obtained something of a refuge But now, if perchance any lonely little community of this utterly desolate people, is found amongst the villages of Persia, if they wish to perform any of their religious rites, they must be done in the closest secrecy. (Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c., &c. by Sir Robert Ker Porter (1822), Vol. II, pp. 45-47).

A Succinct View collected from various authors.

We read the following account of the Parsis who remained in Persia, as collected from various authors :—

" They (the Khalifs) assumed the Supreme Power in spiritual as well as temporal Affairs, and executed it for the most Part with great Severity. It was this that led them to treat with unrelenting Cruelty, the unhappy Race of the ancient Persian Nation, whom they were bent upon extirpating, from ridiculous Notion of their being Infidels and Idolaters; whereas it is very difficult to say whether their Religion is not as near the Truth as that of Mahomet ; but without entering into this Dispute, it is sufficient for our Purpose to say that they succeeded so far therein, as to reduce that numerous People to a very handful, and even these were forced to take Shelter in Woods, in Mountains, and in Desarts, to secure themselves from the Effects of their religious Fury" (Voyages and Travels in Asia, Book III, Chapter II Section V, p. 909, Col. 1).

We must note that as the author says at the commencement of this section which gives "a succinct View of the Persian History," his account is "collected as well from the Oriental Writers, as from the Greek and Latin Historians" (Ibid, p. 907).

We have not only the authority of Mahomedan writers to affirm, that the Parsees of Persia were persecuted, but we have the authority of the action of a Mohamedan ruler to lead us to that conclusion. In 1710, Persia declared war against the Afghans. In 1720, Mahmud, the son of Meer Vais, who reigned in Kandahar invaded Persia. He invaded Kerman. In this invasion, a number of Zoroastrians were killed. Mahmud retired for a time and

Mahmud bin Meer Vais The Afghan Invader of Persia and the Parsees 1722.

brought a second invasion in 1722, through Kerman and Yezd, where lived many Parsees. Mahmud persuaded these Zoroastrians to join him in his onward march, "in the hope that his success might alleviate the oppression they had so long endured" (Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd ed. 1826, Vol. I p. 419). One Nasser-ulláh, who, according to Hanway, was a Parsee, accepted the invitation, and raised under his command a levy of his Parsee co-religionists. Mahmud "exhorted the Guebres to remember their ancestors and their wrongs, and to seize the opportunity of glory and revenge (Ibid. p. 422). In the end, Mahmud came out victorious. But nothing is known of the fate of the Parsees being bettered. They seem to have lost many, both in the massacres during the first invasion of Mahmud and in the fight under the banner of Mahmud in the second invasion.

According to Jonas Hanway, a merchant, who travelled in Persia in 1744, Mahmud (1722) addressed the Parsees and asked them to free themselves from the yoke of their rulers. "He represented to the Parsees, that the hour was now come, which would free them from the yoke of their tyrants; that liberty was in their own hands, if they would prove themselves worthy heirs of the valour of their ancestors." (A Historical Account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea, with the author's Journal of Travels, by Jonas Hanway, Vol. II. The Revolution of Persia (1754) Chap. II, p. 153). It seems, that the Parsees took up the exhortation and fought boldly. At the siege of Ghiez, "a fortress before which the Afghans had miscarried more than once," Mahmud "sent some Parsees to break open the gates with their hatchets: but the reception his men met, convinced him of the necessity of proceeding with greater precaution; and he resolved to undermine the walls, and open a subterraneous passage into the town. The work was directed by a Parsee whose profession was to dig wells." (Ibid p. 193). Among the Parsees, who fought for Mahmud with a view to gain freedom from the persecution of their then rulers, one was Nazr Ulla (Nasser Ullah). He was a brave officer and his name struck terror among the Persians. On his death, "Mahmud erected a stately monument to him, near the burying-place of the Armenians. The Afghans looked upon him as a saint, and expressed a high veneration for his memory. This was the more extraordinary, as they could not plead ignorance that he was a worshipper of fire; since there were two priests hired by the Sultan, who kept the sacred flame near his tomb." (Ibid p. 208).

Thus, we see, that in 1722, there appeared a Mahomedan and that an Afrigan ruler, who "erected a stately monument" in memory of a brave Parsee, who fought with a view that he and his co-religionists may be "free from the yoke of their tyrants" and that they may "prove themselves worthy heirs of the valour of their ancestors". If a Mahomedan raised a stately monument in recognition of the services and work of one brave Parsee, we the modern Parsee owe it to ourselves that we raise, if not a stately monument, at least a decent column in recognition of the work of many brave Parsees who tried "to free themselves from the yoke of their tyrants," and who "proved themselves worthy heirs of their ancestors."

What concerns our present question the most in this story of the invasion is this: The Afghan ruler Mahmud knew well that the Parsees were a persecuted race in Persia; and so, he wanted to take advantage of that fact. In the succeeding rule of Nadirshah and his successors, the Parsees had again to choose between conversion and death. Kerman, one of their principal centres has been now and then the victim of the ferocity of invaders like Changiz Khan and Timur, and of rulers like Mahmud, Nadirshah, and Aga Mahomed Khan (Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. II, Chapter XVIII). In all these invasions the Parsees of that city have suffered. Before the time of these invaders, they were about 12,000 in number, but in 1878, their number was found to be 1,300.

The books in "The Story of the Nations" series are written by distinguished writers who are experts in the study of the histories of different countries, Ragozin. Zénaïd A. Ragozin, an expert student of history of this kind, admits the facts, both of the exile of the Parsis and of their persecution and continued oppression in Persia. This expert student says: "The religion which these exiled descendants of the ancient

Persians have preserved along with purity of race and time-honored customs, is that of ancient Erân It was in the year 641 A. D. that the Arab invaders turned its (Erân's) people into a conquered, enslaved, and for a long time ruthlessly oppressed and ill-treated population It was but natural that the religion of the vanquished should be the first object of persecution at the hands of victors whose wars and conquests were all prompted by religious fanaticism. The Persian clergy were persecuted, their temples desecrated and destroyed, their sacred books likewise, and the faithful followers of the ancient national creed subjected to so many indignities and extortions as to make existence not only burdensome, but wellnigh impossible. They were made to pay ruinous extra taxes, were excluded from all offices, from all participation in public life, and, worst of all, very nearly deprived of the protection of the law, at all events systematically denied justice or redress whenever they applied for either against a Mussulman. Their property, their lives, their honour, thus were completely at the mercy of the insolent and grasping foreign rulers But even at the time of the wholesale conversion of the country to Islamism, which was an accomplished fact in less than two hundred years after the conquest, great numbers preferred every hardship to apostasy. Only, as life under such conditions had become unendurable at home, the vast majority of these took the desperate resolution of going into exile, to see some place of refuge in foreign lands, where they would be tolerated as harmless guests, and suffered to practise their religion unmolested. The self-exiled Zoroastrians fared better. After wandering for many years somewhat at random, stopping at various places, but not attempting any permanent settlement until they effected a descent on the western coast of India, they reached at last the peninsula of Gujerât (or Guzerat), where they were hospitably received by the reigning Hindu prince, after they had agreed to some by no means onerous conditions. They began to spread even as far as Upper India (the Penjâb). (The Story of the Nations Series. Media, Babylon and Persia (1889) pp. 2-5).

Lord Curzon, in his monumental work on Persia, refers to the early retreat, at first, to the safer regions of the eastern part of the country, and then to the shores of India. Lord Curzon was not a traveller of an ordinary calibre. He was, what we may call, a student-traveller, a traveller who studied before, during, and after his travels. I quote his views here at some length, because, he not only refers to this preliminary retreat, but sympathetically refers also to the main question of the exodus and the persecution that led to it and even followed it. He says:—

“ With Arab invasion ensued that persecution of the Zoroastrian faith which extinguished the fire-altars of Media and Hyrcania, and drove its acolytes to the more secure retreat of Yazd and Kerman. Here they have ever since lingered, maltreated but undismayed; and from this centre was directed in later times that happy migration which has transformed the down-trodden Guebre of Iran into the prosperous Parsi of Bombay. The population include a large Guebre or Parsi contribution. To an English visitor the latter constitute perhaps the main attraction of Yezd. Here for hundreds of years has resided this interesting and venerable community, lending to the city and its neighbourhood, where they possess a number of villages, the service of untiring industry and respectable character, though receiving little but kicks and cuffs in return. In spite of their riches and respectability, the community is one that has always suffered, and is still exposed to, persecution. Severe disabilities are inflicted upon them in the transactions of daily or merchantile life. Some years ago, a heavy poll tax was imposed, which drove many away; within the last twenty years a wealthy Parsee has been murdered in the open streets at the instigation of the Mullahs and his murderer has escaped scotfree; they are compelled to wear sober-coloured garment, and may not ride, or keep open shops, or possess high or handsome houses in the city. When they purchase property, a higher price is exacted from them than from Mahommedans; they are forced to conceal their means, and to restrict their commercial operations for fear of exacting hostile attack; while in the streets they are constantly

liable to insult and personal affront. In recent years an association has been formed for their protection by their co-religionists in Bombay" (Persia (1892) Vol. II pp. 239-41).

Professor Westergaard, who travelled in Persia in 1843, to study Parsiism there, and to search for Parsee books, spoke of the Zoroastrians there, being very badly treated, those at Kerman worse than those at Yezd. All these above accounts refute Mr. Nadirsha's inference, that as a number of Parsees continued to live in Persia after the Arab conquest, there was no need for a migration. As Miss Menant puts it on the authority of General Houtum Schindler and other travellers, the Zoroastrians of Persia were, at times, to the Mahomedans, what the Mâhârs of India are to other Hindus, hated and disliked. (Les Parsis, I. p. 43.)

You seem to lay some stress on the statements, that the Kisseh-i-Sanjan is not very old, that it was written only about 300 years ago, and that no older authority for the material of the Kisseh is fourth-coming. But you seem to forget that it is not always possible to produce older manuscripts or originals. We have sufficient data in Bahman Kaikobad's Kisseh-i-Sanjan itself to say, that he had before him an older Kisseh, or writing, which was shown to him by his preceptor (marâ in Kisseh be-nemudast Dastur). He says: "I have related this story as I saw it (*i.e.* read it)." Though the original is now lost we have reference to the events of the Exodus described in the Kisseh in manuscripts older than the date of the Kisseh.

We have a number of analogous historical cases of the originals being lost and their later renderings serving as sufficiently important documents for historical facts. (a) For example take the cases of the tradition of the lost 21 Nasks of the Avesta. Almost all of the Nasks in the original Avesta have been lost. But a list of their contents is preserved in the Pahlavi Dinkard of far later times. There is a greater distance of time between the date of the Dinkard as can be determined at present from its contents, and the time when the Avesta Nasks must have been written than that between the date of the Kisseh (1600 A.D.) and the approximate date of the Exodus (the 8th Century A.D.). Will you from that fact doubt the existence of the original Nasks of the Avesta? We have the contents of the Nasks given in our much later compendiums of Persian Revayets. Suppose, under some circumstances, even the Pahlavi Dinkard, or if not the whole Dinkard, that portion of it which gives the contents of it, had been lost. As a matter of fact, Pahlavi scholars know some folios of an old copy of the Dinkard had, at one time, been lost. In such a case, there would have remained for us only the Persian Revayets of times even later than the date of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan. Perhaps some gentlemen of a doubting frame of mind would then have doubted the very existence of the Avesta Nasks. Would they have been right?

In the matter of the summary account of the Nasks in the Dinkard, Dr. West says: "Regarding the authorship of the summary account of the Nasks, contained in Dinkard VIII, IX, it may be reasonably assumed, in default of any positive information, that the compiler was Âturpâd son of Hêmêd, the last editor of the Dinkard. And, as nothing is said about any previous treatise being consulted, it may be safely supposed that he had access to the Avesta Texts and Pahlavi versions of all the Nasks he describes, fully three centuries after the Muhammadan conquest of Persia." (S. B. E. Vol. XXXVII Introduction, p. XXXVIII)". Though I do not fully agree with all the inferences drawn by Dr. West in the matter of the responsibility of preserving the Avesta Nasks, I produce his evidence to show, that in the case of Bahman Kaikobad, the author of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, exactly that seems to have happened, which, Dr. West thinks, happened in the case of Aturpad, the compiler of the Dinkard. The compiler of the Dinkard had the old Avesta Texts and Pahlavi versions before him. They are now lost. From the fact of that loss, one will not be justified in saying that the summary given in the Dinkard is imaginary. So, Bahman Kaikobad had before him, when he wrote his Kisseh, some older written materials as he himself says, but they are lost. So, one is not justified to say from the fact of the non-existence of older materials that Bahman Kaikobad wrote an imaginary narrative.

(b) Take a still further case. Suppose that all the extant Avasta were lost, and, with them, the written knowledge of all the old Iranian beliefs, doctrines and legends was lost, but that the later Pahlavi books, such as the Bundelesh, the Dadistan-i-Dinik, the Minokherad, the Dinkard, and such others only remained. These later Pahlavi books, notwithstanding the few excrescences that there may be, show, as said by Dr. West, "how faithfully the old doctrines and legends were handed down by the priests of Sasanian times to their immediate successors" (Ibid. p. XXIX). In this case, would scholars have been justified in saying that the beliefs, doctrines and legends referred to in the Pahlavi books are all imaginary, because older records of the Avasta to which they refer do not exist? Of course, not.

(c) Iranian scholars know that several Pahlavi books existed up to a few years ago, only in unique copies, and some even now exist in unique manuscripts. If these latter are lost by some chance, would one in future be justified in doubting the statements of a present day scholar or scholars who may have read these unique manuscripts and taken notes of them? Suppose from these notes preserved by a scholar or scholars, some other scholar, a generation or a century after, published a book giving the contents of the lost unique Pahlavi manuscripts. Will scholars of the next generations or centuries be justified in saying, that the book is imaginary? You will of course say "No." What scholars have to do in such cases is merely to examine the question of the truthfulness of the books by the usual literary tests referred to above.

(d) Take another case well-known to Iranian scholars. It is that of the famous letter of Tansar or Tansar, the well-known Dastur and Prime Minister of Ardeshir Babegân (226-259 A.D.) the founder of the Sassanian dynasty—the dynasty whose downfall at the hands of the Arabs was the cause of the Exodus under discussion. He had addressed a letter, in Pahlavi on behalf of his royal master to Jasnaf Shah, the King of Tabaristan. That Pahlavi letter has been lost. It seems, that before it was lost, it had been translated into Arabic by Ebn Moquaffa, a Mahomedanized Parsee, who died in 760 A.D. That Arabic rendering also seems to have been lost. But before it was lost, it seems to have been rendered into Persian by Hasan bin Asfandiar in 1210 A.D., in his history of Tabaristan. Fortunately, that Persian rendering still exists. A copy of it exists in the India office Library, and the late Prof. James Darmesteter brought it to light in 1894 (Journal Asiatique 1894). This letter, preserved in the history of Tabaristan, is a very important document. Prof. Darmesteter, from his point of view about the antiquity of the Avesta, attached to it an importance, next to that attached to the Inscriptions of Darius and to the Avesta. Dr. Mills does not attach much importance to it. However, laying aside Darmesteter's view, one can say that it is a historical document. Maçoudi refers to its writer Dastur Tanser or Taosar.

Now look to the dates connected with this letter. Tansar wrote it in Pahlavi in the 3rd century A.D. Ibn Moquaffa translated it into Arabic in the 8th century. It was translated into Persian in the 13th century. It has been brought to historical light in the 19th century. The original Pahlavi and the Arabic rendering both have been lost. But from the fact of the originals being lost, and from the fact of the second or third rendering of it in the Persian language being that of about a thousand years *after* it was written, one cannot doubt its existence as a historical document. There are other tests to examine the genuineness of such documents, but not the dates. I have referred to those tests above. In spite of the originals being lost, the later renderings of them may be as historically correct as the original.

If one were to look to the language and the dates, the Kisseh-i-Sanjan of Dastur Bahman Kaikobad stands on a far stronger ground; and so, the mere fact of there being a gap in time, between the main event of the Exodus and the date of the Kisseh, of about eight or nine hundred years, should not throw doubts upon the Kisseh which describes the Exodus.

(e) Take the case of Firdousi. He wrote of the ancient kings of Persia, centuries after they lived. He, like Bahman Kaikobad, says, that he had older writings before him for his

historical epic. Most of these older historical Pahlavi writings have been lost. Fortunately, a few like the *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zurîrân* and *Kârnameh-i-Ardeshir Babegan* have been preserved to uphold the truthfulness of his narratives. Suppose even these were lost. Then, would one have been justified in condemning altogether Firdousi and in saying that all his writings are imaginary?

(f) Some scholars doubted the statement of Herodotus, that King Darius had built a Suez Canal—a canal connecting the Red and the Mediterranean seas, beginning from Suez at this end. Fortunately, that great king had the practice, since then adopted by the great Asoka in India, of building columns commemorating his marches, his victories and his works. Such columns recently discovered under sand in a line parallel to the modern Suez Canal, have proved the truthfulness of Herodotus and saved the memory of a great deed of Darius. They have shown, that scholars were not justified in doubting the truthfulness of Herodotus from the mere fact, that no trace of the Canal was found at the time when they wrote.

This fact of the practice of Darius to build memorial columns draws our special attention from the point of view of our present movement. The historical story of the Exodus of our ancestors after the downfall of the Sassanian monarchy in consequence of the Arab persecution, has come down to us in a running line and has been alluded to by Eastern and Western writers, preceding, contemporary, and subsequent to, Bahman Kaikobad. But in spite of all these, there appears in the 20th century A.D., about 12 centuries after the event, a Parsee gentleman, a very co-religionist of Dastur Bahman Kaikobad, who is prepared to believe all possible doubtful statements of foreign scholars—statements honestly doubted by the very authors who made them, but who, in his fondness for destructive criticism and a strange desire to reverse commonly accepted verdicts, doubts the accredited written tradition of ages. Darius saved his memory by his columns. We do the same in the case of our ancestors.

To sum up, I think, I have replied to all your points and particulars. I have given you a short history of the Column movement, to show, that it was placed before the Parsee public with the advice, help and co-operation of the leading members of the community. It was advanced with the advice of a Committee of experts who had studied the question of the early history of the Parsees. It was supported by the community, and, if I do not mistake, there has hardly been any communal movement which has been so largely supported by a large number of subscribers as this.

As to the truthfulness of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, on which you throw doubts on the authority of one gentleman, I have tried to prove it from the inner evidence of the *Kisseh* itself, whose author Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and his preceptor, Dastur Hoshang, who supplied him with materials, were learned Dasturs of their times, and were well-connected, and were respected both in India and Persia. Such learned and respected writers would not think of misleading their co-religionists by writing an imaginary history. Again, the very simplicity of the historical poem points to its truthfulness.

Coming to the main subject of the Exodus, from the fact, that hundreds of thousands of Parsees continued to live in Persia after the Arab conquest, you seem to doubt it. (a) But we have an analogous case of the Pilgrim Fathers going from England to the distant shores of America. (b) We have historical evidences of similar bands going to China and elsewhere. (c) We have historical evidence, to show the aggressive persecuting policy of the Arabs, which policy led even some Christians to migrate at the time to the shores of India. Under these circumstances, there is nothing of improbability in the exodus to Sanjan.

Coming to the question of direct evidence, we have the evidence of (a) Four Silhara Grants, (b) the name of Sanjan, (c) an old written tradition which said that the first Naosari Parsees went there from Sanjan, (d) the genealogy of Mobads, (e) the mention of the coins of the mint of Nishapour in the Ashirwad recital, (f) the intercalation of one month, (g) the

Sanskrit Shlokas, (h) the Pahlavi inscription at Kanheri, (i) and the writings of well-known travellers and writers.

With reference to the last, the evidence of travellers and writers, we have a number of them who preceded Dastur Bahman Kaikobad, and who referred to the main facts of the religious persecution or the flight from Persia by the sea. Their statements prove that what was written after them by Bahman in his Kisseh was truthful. Among such preceding writers, we find (a) Ahmad Al Biladuri, (850), (b) Maçoudi, (916), (c) Yâqoût, (1178), (d) Hamajîâr Râm (1516), (e) Garcia Da Orta (1534), and (f) Abul Fazl (1598).

Among contemporary writers, we have (a) Rev. E. Terry (1615), (b) Rev. Henry Lord (1621), (c) Sir Thomas Herbert (1626), (d) Mandelslo (1638). Manucci (1656). Then we have the evidence of three learned Dasturs, two of whom were much near to Bahman Kaikobad's time. These Dasturs are Darab Hormuzdyar (about 1679), Dastur Darab Pahlun (about 1700), and Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjana (1765).

Then we come to about twenty-three subsequent writers, whose evidence is important to disprove the suggestion, that the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, was, as it were, now suddenly launched before the Parsee public. The writings of these writers, some of whom were historians, who would not blindly accept old written or oral traditions without properly sifting them, and some of whom were experienced travellers who had visited both India and Persia, show, that the story of the Exodus has run down to us regularly from century to century and has not been suddenly thrust upon us in the 20th century.

Having examined the evidence of several writers, I have submitted an examination of the various events, connected with the main event of the Exodus, as mentioned one after another in the Kisseh, and have supported the question of their truthfulness by other historical writings and facts. These events are (a) the preliminary Retreat to Kohistan, (b) the subsequent retreats to Hormuz (c) and Diu, (d) the consecration of the Iran-Shah Fire-temple at Sanjan, (e) the fall of Champanir into the hands of the Mahomadans, (f) the charitable works of Changashah, (g) the reference of the three priests who accompanied the Sacred fire from Wansda to Naosari.

Lastly, I have examined at some length your nine particulars, and have shown that the arguments based on them cannot be upheld.

At the end of your paper, you say, that your Association "would prefer that the erection of the proposed Column at Sanjan should be deferred and the funds collected for erecting the Column should with the consent of the donors be spent upon researches into the history of the immigration of the Parsis and of their early settlements in India. If this cannot be done, the Association would propose that the inscription of the Column be so worded as to make it clear that it merely reiterates an oral tradition as given in the Kisseh-i-Sanjan".

You speak in the above passage of "oral tradition." But all correct historical "oral traditions" have to find a place in books of history at one time or another. Here, the historical tradition of a great event is recorded in a book written about 317 years before this time. It is supported by various facts. The main facts, so recorded, have been referred to by various writers long before the tradition was recorded. They have the support of contemporary writers. They have come down regularly through the writings of subsequent writers of the succeeding centuries. Not a single voice was raised against them for these hundreds of years. It was only when I launched the Column movement, that the first voice of opposition was heard, and we find, that owing to the peculiar circumstances of party-feelings, through which the community passes, the voice has been re-echoed.

You, following Mr. Nadirsha, speak slightly of *tradition*. But tradition plays a very important part in History. Historical tradition runs for thousands of years. Please note

here what a recent learned writer, Mr. J. R. Mozley, says on the subject of such a tradition in the matter of the religion followed by us, refugees in India. He says: "The religion of ancient Persia has one claim on our regard which the more famous religions of ancient Greece and Rome have not; it has *survived*, whereas they have *perished*. The name of Zeus or Jupiter is *no longer* honoured by any man as a worthy name of the Supreme Being; but Auramazda, to whom the Persian king Darius, five hundred years before Christ, recorded his devotion on the rocks of Behistun, in Cuneiform letters legible today and interpreted by scholars, is *worshipped* at this hour by the community of the Parsis, who mostly have found a refuge in India. Ahura Mazda—Auramazda—Ormuzd; whether it is in one or another of these three forms; that the Supreme Being is named and worshipped, the worshipper belongs to the same line of tradition; and that tradition has never quite died out as a living word among men". (The Divine Aspect of History by John Rickards Mozley (1916) Vol. I, p. 78). There has run down no good strong continuous tradition of Parsee colonies in your Sind, Punjab or Pataliputra. But even if there were any, then I would follow the line of thought suggested by the learned writer, and say: "The Sanjan colony 'has one claim on our regard', which your Sind, Punjab or Pataliputra colonies *have not*; It (the Sanjan colony) has *survived* in us, the modern Parsees, whereas they have *perished*. The tradition of the Sanjan colony has lived among us for generations after generations *as a living word*. As to your Sind, Punjab or Pataliputra there is *no tradition*. There is no other tradition at all contradicting the Kisseh-i Sanjan. If our ancestors had come to India in any other way, except by sea to the shores of Gujarat, certainly some tradition would have remained about it. We know of no other tradition. The genealogies of all the priestly families point to the descent from some priests in Gujarat. The oldest Atash-Behram, and the only Atash-Behram, founded before the 18th Century, has been well-known as belonging to Sanjan Mobads. I have referred elsewhere to some old documents from the early Guikwars referring to those Sanjana Mobads and to their disputes with the Naosari Mobads. We have, in all, eight Atash-Behrams and seven of them have been established in the 18th century. The 8th, the oldest founded after the emigration, is still known by the name of Irân-Shah which name is mentioned in the Kisseh-i Sanjan. There has been no tradition of that Atash-Behram being in any place, other than Gujarat, and there is no tradition of any other Atash-Behram.

The further study of the whole question, forced upon me by opposition, has further convinced me of the truthfulness of the Kisseh-i-Sanjan and of the propriety of the Column movement. This reply is the result of that study. As to the inscription, you will see from what I have stated above, that no details, for which there is any reasonable difference of views, are mentioned. So, I hope, that after an unprejudiced and impartial perusal of the various facts and evidence placed before you in this letter, you will re-consider the position you have taken up, and instead of asking me to divert the funds I have collected, will see your way to augment them.

Mademoiselle Menant, says in her "Les Parsis," (p. 23): "We hope, they will never lose sight of their sorrowful Exodus; and (even) at the height of the glory of the Dadiseths, the Banajis, the Jamsatjee Jejeebhoy, the Camas, the Petits and many others not less illustrious, they will bear in mind the first fugitives from the kingdom of Persia and their welcome by the Rana of Sanjan. 'Welcome,' said the Prince, 'to those who walk faithfully in the path of Ormazd. May their race prosper and grow. May their prayers (to God) obtain the remission of their sins and the smile of the Sun. May Laxmi, by her liberality and gifts, contribute to their riches and to the accomplishment of their desires and May the rare merits of their race and of their spirit ever continue to distinguish them in our midst."

Thanks to God, the heirs of all these and other distinguished families, have not, in the midst of their prosperity, forgotten their first fugitive ancestors. They, and the community in general, have all responded kindly to my appeal and I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

During my humble public life of nearly 35 years, in the span of 62 hitherto extended to me by Providence, I have done my best to serve my community. But, in all the little that I have done, I will look with much pleasure and satisfaction to my humble connection with this movement of the Memorial Column at Sanjan. It will be a proud day for me, in the autumn of my life, when I see the last stone put on this Column. May God bless the Movement. May the Column stand for centuries to come. May it remind us of our glorious past, and stand as a symbol of steadfastness to Truth and Freedom displayed by our Ancestors, as a symbol of Gratefulness to the mild Hindus for their Hospitality, and to the Benign British for their Justice and Protection. May it remind us of the words of the Dastur said to Jadi Ranâ on the very first day of landing at Sanjan : "Hamê Hindustânâ yâr bâshim *i.e.* We shall be the friends of the whole of India." May it always remind us of Love and Duty towards this great country, where we, with our other sister communities, may well raise a mild cry of Bandémâtaram. May it stand long as a glorious reminder of the long historical Indo-Iranian bond and always give us lessons of the Past, remind us of the actualities of the Present, and inspire us with Hope for the Future.

Yours faithfully,

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

Mithi Lodge, Colaba, Roz 25, mah 6 Shehrivar 1286 Yazdazardi 4th March 1917.

APPENDIX I.

AMIR KHOSRU AND HIS GABRS.

We saw above (pp. 53-54) that a couplet from the Ashkiyé (عشق‌پیم) a love-poem) of Amir Khosro has been made much of, in the matter of the identification of the Sultan Mahmud referred to in the Kisseh. This persian poet, known as the "Parrot of Hind, "was one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever produced. for he is said to have left behind him "some half million of verses." (Elliott's History of India III, P. 523). Elliott gives an analysis of some of his poetical works (Ibid pp. 523-67). His analysis of his Ashkiyé occupies about 14 pages (pp. 544-557). Therein, under the heading of "Conquest of Gujarat, Chitor, Málwa, Siwána," he says: "The poet passes to the conquest of 'Aláu-d-din, in Hindútsán. Ulugh Khán sent against th Rái of Gujarat, 'where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the gabrs'" (Ibid p. 549). Sir James Campbell, not finding, as said above (p 55), in Eastwick's translation of the-Kisseh-i-Sanjan, the name of Changa Shah, who took the sacred fire of Iran Shah to Naosari, 26 years after the sack of Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud, became doubtful in his Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. IX, Part II. Gujarat Population p 187 n. 3, Thana, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 250 n. 7), and thought, that possibly the Sultan Mahmud of the Kisseh may be Sultan Muhammad Alaud-din Khilji and the Alaf Khan, either Ulugh Khan, the brother of Alau-d-din or Alp Khan the brother-in-law of Alaud-din. In support, he referred to the above quotation from Elliott, wherein Ulugh Khan is represented as invading Gujarat, "where the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the gabrs."

Now had Elliott translated a few lines more, Campbell would not have suggested the name of Alaud-din and would not have referred to this massacre as that of the Sack of Sanjan. While preparing my Reply, I tried my best to find a manuscript copy of Amir Khosru's above poem which is not published, but failed. But thanks to my friend Prof. Nadirshaw Dorabjee Minocher Homji, I have found a copy of it in the Moola Feroze Library. I give below the verses referred to by Elliott and my translation. (No. VII 101 p. 155 of Rehatzek's Catalogue).

چو ملک سند و کویستان دریا .: بطاعت مجاہ فرمان شد مہیا
 بقدرت رای زد بخت بلندش .: کہ رای گوجرات آمد پسندش
 ہمان اعظم الغناترا فرستاد .: کہ خاک آن زمین را داد برباد
 برای عزت دین ابدرا .: برای نیک زد آن رای بدرا
 بدریا وسواحل چون ہزبران .: لبالب داد دور از خون گبران
 خلل در سومنات افگند زان سان .: کہ شد بت خانہ کردون ہراسان
 ز بس نیرو کہ آن بنیاد برکنہ .: زمین را لرزہ چون دریا افگند

TRANSLATION.

When the country of Sind and the mountainous region of the sea became ready as places of obedience (or of worship) to his order (i. e. were subdued by him), his great fortune naturally formed a plan, whereby he liked to have (i. e. to subdue) the King (Rai) of Gujarat. He sent at once the great Ulug Khan who devastated the land of that country. For the sake of the honour of the everlasting Din (i. e. the Mahomedan religion), he with a good thought defeated (lit. struck) that bad King (Rai). He lion-like gave to the sea and to (its) shores the cup (daur), filled up to the brim, with the blood of the Gabrs. He spread destruction (in the temple of) Somnath in such a way, that the chariot (gardun) of the idol-temple (bût khaneh) was frightened. From the strength with which destruction followed, land trembled as if it were the sea.

These verses, when quoted in full, show, that they cannot at all be a reference to the sack of Sanjan. The line, next to that very line, which was quoted by Elliott and which misled Campbell, points to the fact that it is a reference to the fight with the Hindus, wherein the temple of Somnath was again desecrated. The gabrs referred to here, are not the Parsees but Hindus. As pointed out by me, in my reply, the word gabr was at times used by Mohomedan authors in the sense of infidels or unbelievers.

My learned friend Mr. Pallonji B. Desai, attached undue importance to Campbell's reference to the verse and built airy castles on that reference, even imaginarily finding the name of Sanjan in the reference. The above verses, once for all, settle, not only that Sanjan is not mentioned, but also, that there is no reference in it at all to any event in the History of the Parsees. If it refers to any Sack, it is the Sack of Somnath, the sacred temple of the Hindus.

Here is another instance of how one author's mistake misleads others. Elliott wanted to give only an analysis or outline of Amir Khosru's love-poem. He quoted one line from it. Campbell did not go to the original and was misled. But, as a good scholar, he cautiously referred to it and hesitatingly submitted a doubt. Mr. P. B. Desai, without verifying the fact even from Elliott, jumped at the doubt, as if it were a sure and certain fact, and even imagined the mention of Sanjan in it. Mr. Nadirsha clung to Mr. Desai's argument, and, in his turn, misled the writers of the letter.

Khorshed Kâmdin (who carried the Sanjan Sacred Fire of Iranshah to Naosari from Bânsdâ about 1516 A.D.)

Âsâ or Âsdin

Châyân

Kâmdin

Âsâ

Dastur Hoshang (mentioned (a) with Dastur Moherji Rana in a letter of 1570 A.D. (b) in the Revayat of Kâus Mâhyâr of 1601).

Dastur Khorshed Dastur Shapur (mentioned in a letter of 1627)

Dastur Behram (mentioned in a document of 1691)

Dastur Rustam (mentioned in a document of 1691)

Dastur Bhikhâ (the first Dastur of Udware 1682-1757)

Dastur Behramji (1720-1785)

Dastur Darabji (1766-1855)

Dastur Minocherji (1812-1877)

Dgstur Khurshedji (the present Dastur of Udware)

All the facts which we have collected in the above reply and in this appendix will, I hope, lead an unprejudiced reader to say, that a learned and well-known High-priest like Dastur Hoshang, who had lines of such known personages for his ancestors and descendants, was not likely to be an accessory to pass an imaginary poem as historical.

CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Line.	Incorrect	Correct.
10	2	Your	Our
24	23	Toward	Towards
26	19	Fase	Fact
30	35	M. R. M. ¹²	M. R. U. ¹²
45	47	Perso.	Perse.
52	Marginal Heading.	accepted	accepted
55	46	Collabourators.	Collaborators.
69	1	Navsar	Navsari
"	13	Farthers	Fathers.

I give below the following Papers in order to enable my readers to follow well my reply :—

1. My letter inviting some leading members of the community to join my Committee, with extract referred to therein.
2. Inscriptions on the column in English and Gujarati.
3. The letter of the Iranian Association to which this is a reply.

1st June 1917.

J. J. M.

LETTER INVITING SOME LEADING MEMBERS OF THE
COMMUNITY TO JOIN THE COMMITTEE.

Sir,

Herewith an extract from Miss Menant's article on "Sanjan" and my translation of it for your perusal and advice. Will you kindly give your views on her proposal and recommendation that the Parsees should erect a monument at Sanjan commemorating their first arrival there in India.

Some gentlemen whom I have consulted have approved of the idea. If you approve of her recommendation, may I request you to be good enough to join a Committee to be formed for the purpose ?

131, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.
BOMBAY, 11th April 1910.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

Extract from Miss Menant's paper entitled "La prise de Sanjan par les Musalmans." (Revue du Monde Musalman, 38 Anne, Juin, No. 6. (Last para p. 179).

"Nous nous étonnons que les Parsis aient négligé jusqu'ici d'élever un monument commémoratif pour marquer le point de débarquement de leurs ancêtres et la place où la flame sacrée brilla pour la première fois dans l'Inde. C'est là un oubli facile à réparer, et il le sera certainement le jour où un pieux Zoroastrien, soucieux du passé, fera appel à ses coreligionnaires !

Translation.—We are astonished (to find) that the Parsees have upto now neglected to raise a commemorative monument to mark the place of the landing of their ancestors and the place where the sacred Fire burnt for the first time in India. It is a neglect which can be easily remedied and certainly there will be a day, when, a pious Zoroastrian, solicitous for the past, will make an appeal for it to his co-religionists.

COPIES OF ENGLISH AND GUJARATI INSCRIPTIONS
ON THE SANJAN COLUMN.

HOMAGE TO THEE, O AHURA MAZDA !

This column has been erected by the Parsis of India in pious memory of their good Iranian ancestors, who, after the downfall of their Empire under their last monarch Yazdazard Shahriyar, for the sake of their religion dearer than life, left their native land, and suffering innumerable hardships at length landed at this once famous port of Sanjan, and settled under the protection of its kind Hindu ruler Jadi Rana.

"We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the holy."

Roz , Mah Shahanshahi, Mah Kadmi, Yazdazardi, 1917 (A. D).

નેમસે-તે અહુરમઝદ.

ઓ અહુરમઝદ ! તુંને નેમાજ હોજો.

જે ધરિંતી ન્યાગાનોએ પોતાના છેલ્લા પાદશાહ યઝદજ્ઞદ શેહરયારની શાહાનશાહત ખતમ થવા બાદ, જન કરતાં પ્યારા ધર્મ ખાતર વતન છોડી, ઘણાક હાલેસાઓ ખમી, આખરે આ એક વેળાના નામીયા સંજન ખંદરે ઉતરી ત્યાંના માયાણુ હિન્દુ રાજા જદીરાણાના આશરા હેઠળ વાસો કીધો હતો, તે ભલા ન્યાગાનોની અશો યાદમાં, હિન્દુસ્તાનના પારસીઓએ આ સ્તંભ ઊભો કીધો છે.

"અષાગિનાંમ્ વંધુકીશ્ સૂરાઓ સ્પેન્તાઓ ક્વપયો યઝમઝદે."

"અશો માણુસોનાં ભક્તાં, સૂરાં, આબાદી કરનારાં ફરોહરોને હમો આરાધયે છિએ."

રોજ માહા શેહેનશાહી માહા

કદમી સને યઝદેજ્ઞદી.

તા૦

૧૯૧૭.

THE LETTER UNDER REPLY.

OFFICE OF THE IRANIAN ASSOCIATION,

ALICE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD,

Bombay, November 1916.

FROM,

H. J. BHABHA, Esq.,

PRESIDENT OF THE IRANIAN ASSOCIATION.

P. A. WADIA, Esq.,

AND BYRAMJI HORMUSJEE Esq.,

} JT. HON. SECRETARIES.

TO,

SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI J. MODY, B.A., PH. D.

SECRETARY OF THE SANJAN MEMORIAL COLUMN COMMITTEE.

SIR,

We are directed by the Managing Committee of the Iranian Association to address you on the subject of the inscription which it is proposed to place upon the Sanjan Memorial Column. The Memorial Committee appears to have accepted the story of the immigration of the ancestors of the Parsis of India into Sanjan by sea given in the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* as historically and incontestably true, and therefore the Memorial Committee proposes to state definitely in the inscription on the Sanjan Column that the Iranian ancestors of the Parsis of India "landed at this once famous port of Sanjan and settled under the protection of its kind Hindu Ruler *Jadi Rana*."

2. The story given in the *Kisah-i-Sanjan* is related by *Mobed Bahman Kaikobad* an inhabitant of *Navsari* as it was orally told to him by a *Dastur* and other elders in or about the *Yezdegardi* year 969 (A. D. 1600), that is to say, more than 800 years after the supposed immigration into Sanjan to which it refers. There is no convincing evidence to show that "the author is indebted for his materials to an older account" in writing. He distinctly says that he had heard the account from a wise *Dastur*. "He (the *Dastur*) told me this narrative from old traditions." "I repeat the story from his words."

3. It is impossible that oral tradition can be expected to preserve with any degree of accuracy or truthfulness an account of events that occurred more than 800 years ago. It is not too much to expect that your Committee including a distinguished Iranian Scholar like yourself should not commit themselves to the truth of an oral tradition, described in a poetical form by a priest who was avowedly not a historical nor linguistic scholar. The Iranian Association feel compelled therefore to record a protest against any action of your Committee which would give the importance of historical truth to a mere tradition described in a poetical form by such a writer.

4. Your Committee proposes to inscribe on the Sanjan Memorial Column as follows —

"This Column has been erected by the Parsis of India in pious memory of their Iranian ancestors who.....landed at this once famous port of Sanjan and settled under the protection of its kind Hindu Ruler *Jadi Rana*." Such an inscription merely states what is an unsupported tradition. That this tradition is not only not supported by historical evidence but is also improbable and controverted by known historical facts will appear from the following few particulars which we beg to state as concisely as possible.

- (1) There is no mention of an independent Kingdom of Sanjan or of a King called *Jadi Rana* in any authentic history of Gujerat.
- (2) There is no mention in any history of *Sultan Mahmud Begada* of the conquest by him of an important and flourishing port of the name of Sanjan.
- (3) *Masudi* in his history written in *Hejeira* 332 (A. D. 943) mentions that there was a large Zoroastrian population in Hind, Sind and China as well as in Persia.
- (4) There is evidence to show that in the year 324 *Yezdegardi* or about A. D. 955 there were a flourishing maktab and firetemple in Broach. This shows that from the early centuries of the *Yezdegardi* era there was a considerable population of Parsis in Broach and not merely after A. D. 1090 as the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* states.
- (5) In A. D. 1185 a copy of the *Vendidad* was brought from *Seistan* to *Uech* in Sind, where there was a population of Zoroastrians. This MS was subsequently brought into Gujerat and

transcribed there. It is probable that after the destruction of Uech in 1223 the Parsis of Uech migrated southwards towards Gujerat.

- (6) In the first and second centuries of the Yazdegardi era when the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* states that our ancestors were on their way to India by sea from the island of Ormuz, there were frequent attacks led by Arabs from the sea upon Sind and Gujerat. These attacks continued from A. D. 631 to 776 and render it improbable that any considerable body of Parsis could have migrated to India by sea during the first two centuries after the fall of the Persian Empire. The land route from Seistan via Beluchistan and Sind was safer and more convenient as there were Zoroastrian settlements along the route, and it is probable that large numbers of Zoroastrians migrated in course of time, though not necessarily in the first two centuries of the Yazdegardi era, by the land route to India.
- (7) When a reference was made by the Zoroastrians of Navsari, Surat, Anklesar, Broach and Khambat to the high priests of Persia on certain religious questions in A. D. 1478, they were told by the high priests to send two able priests to Iran by the land route to learn Pahlavi. The route from Kandahar to Seistan they described as short, and from Seistan to Yezd as quite safe. It would seem from this that the land route from India to Persia was well known to Parsis and often used.
- (8) The recent archæological discoveries of Dr. Spooner in Northern India show that migrations of the Zoroastrian Magi from Persia into India date from remote antiquity and establish the fact of frequent communication between the two countries which no doubt continued after the fall of the Persian Empire.
- (9) In Ousley's *Oriental Geography* of Ebn Haukal who flourished probably between A. D. 902 and 968, the following occurs :

“Now we shall lay before the reader a map of these parts of Hind and Sind, and describe the curious and extraordinary places of them. Some parts belong to Guebres (that is Persian Zoroastrians) and a greater portion of this country to Kafirs (Infidels) and idolators.” This authority would point to the fact of a large Zoroastrian population in Sind in the tenth century.

5. These are some facts and inferences for which we are indebted to a paper read before the Third Zoroastrian Conference by Mr. Jamshedji Dadabhoy Nadirshah L. C. E., a distinguished Avestan scholar and traveller in Persia. They make us hesitate to accept as true or as the whole truth the story of the immigration of our Iranian ancestors into Sanjan as given in the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*. It is unfortunate that the early history of Parsis in India has never been carefully investigated. And what little has come to light renders it probable that the bulk of the Zoroastrian refugees from Persia came to India by way of Beluchistan, Punjab and Sind rather than by sea, and that they gradually gravitated to Gujerat and the ports of the western coast for purposes chiefly of trade. It is not impossible of course that some emigrants from Persia might have come to India by the sea route. But the Iranian Association desires to enter its protest against the proposed wording of the inscription on the Sanjan column quoted above, which takes it for granted that all the Iranian ancestors of the Parsis of India left Persia “after the downfall of the Empire of their last monarch” and after suffering innumerable hardships at length landed at the port of Sanjan. The Iranian Association beg to point out that your Committee should not announce as a proved historical fact on the column at Sanjan what is professedly an oral tradition given in the “*Kissah-i-Sanjan*” which has not yet been corroborated by historical or archæological evidence. To do so would give a false colour to doubtful events and hamper future research into the early history of the Parsis in India.

6. Under these circumstances the Iranian Association would prefer that the erection of the proposed column at Sanjan should be deferred, and the funds collected for erecting the column should with the consent of the donors be spent upon researches into the history of the immigration of Parsis and of their early settlement in India. If this cannot be done, the Association would propose that the inscription on the column be so worded as to make it clear that it merely reiterates an oral tradition as given in the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*.

We have the honour to be,

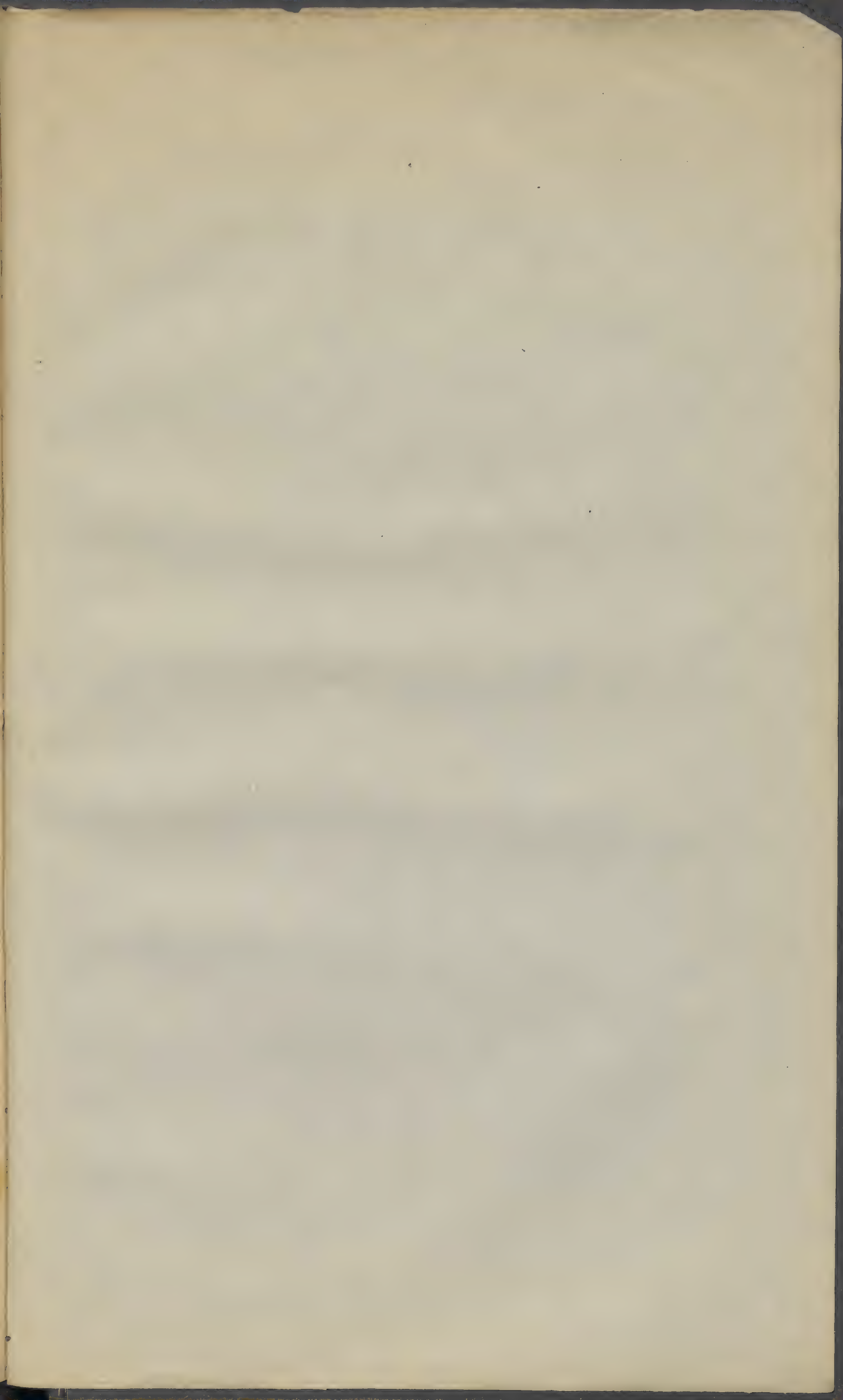
Sir,

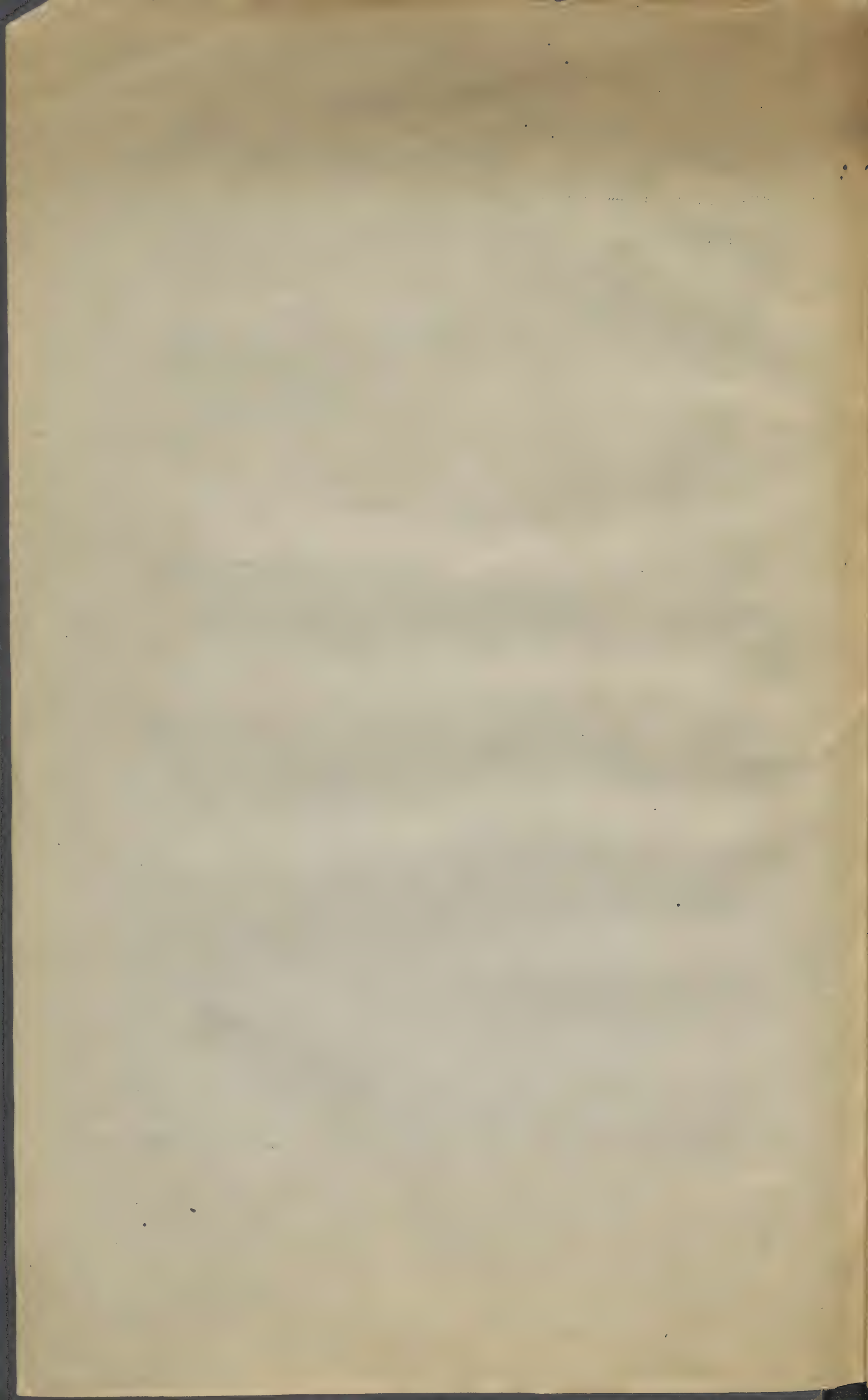
Your most obedient servants,

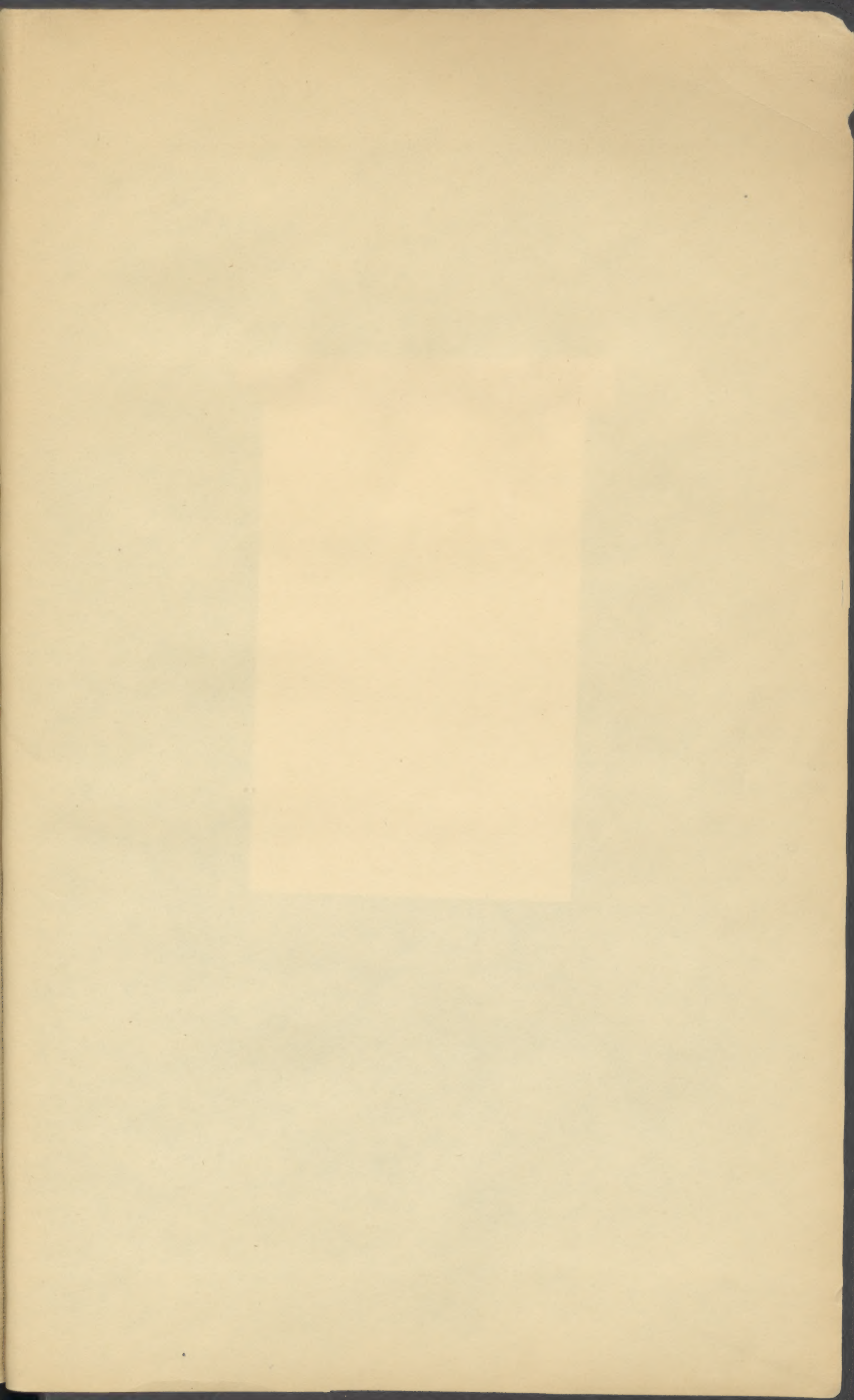
H J. BHABHA, President.

P. A. WADIA
BYRAMJI HORMUSJEE

Jt. Hon. Secretaries.









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